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THE

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ROMAN EMPIRE

BY EDWARD GIBSON

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

THE

ROMAN

EMPIRE

BY

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
DECLINE AND FALL  
OF THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

A NEW EDITION.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
DECLINE AND FALL

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ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Death of Gratian—Rise of Arminius—St. Ambrose—  
First civil war, against Maximus—Character, lib-  
eration, and penance, of Theodosius—Death of  
Valentinian II—Second civil war, against Eugenius  
—Death of Theodosius.*

THE fame of Gratian, before he had ac-  
complished the twentieth year of his age, was  
equal to that of the most celebrated princes.  
His gentle and amiable disposition endeared him  
to his private friends, the graceful affability of  
his manners engaged the affection of the people;  
the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality,  
acknowledged the taste and eloquence of their  
sovereign; his valour and dexterity in arms  
were equally applauded by the soldiers; and the

CHAP.  
XXVII.

*Character  
and rise  
and fall of the  
emperor  
Gratian.*

A. D. 379-  
393



CHAP. XXVII.  
 -----  
 clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian as the first and most useful of his virtues. The victory of Valentinian had delivered the West from a formidable invasion; and the grateful provinces of the East ascribed the merits of Theodosius to the author of his greatness, and of the public safety. Gratian survived these memorable events only four or five years; but he survived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

His defects. The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct, may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had besetged the son of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headstrong passions which that gentle youth appears to have escaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian, may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of experience and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderness of his father was continually employed to bestow on him those advantages, which he might perhaps esteem the more highly, as he himself had been deprived of them; and the most skillful masters of every science, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince.\* The knowledge which they pain-

\* Theodosius was less attentive to the religion of his sons; since he intrusted the education of Gratian to Ambrose, a professed pagan. (Mans.)

fully communicated was displayed with ostentation, and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fair impression of their judicious precepts, and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and consequence of ministers of state; and, as they wisely dissembled their secret authority, he learned to act with firmness, with propriety, and with judgment, on the most important occasions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary to the happiness, and almost to the existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed those faithful counsellors from the throne, the emperor of the West insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forwards to grasp them; and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favour and injustice was instituted, both

CHAP.

XXVII.

[1791-1792]

(N. 10. de *Constantino de Interrogatione*, lib. 10. p. 110-111.) The political sense of *Constantino* resembles the latter of his age.

<sup>1</sup> *Constantino* was extremely devoted to the promotion of letters. (A. D. 337), called *Emil.* (A. D. 375) and was at length crowned with the imperial diadem (A. D. 393). He expressed his gratitude by several and fruitful pieces of letters. *Carlo D'Amico*, p. 175-176, where his epistles have been printed.



CHAP.  
XXVII

in the court, and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose merit it was made sacrilege to question.\* The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by *saints* and *bishops*† who procured an imperial edict to punish, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance of the divine law.‡ Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin: and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the ruder purposes of hunting. Large parks were inclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts: and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves, reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaste and temperate Gra-

\* *Disputare de p<sup>re</sup>lio et p<sup>re</sup>lio non oportet. Veritatem enim non est dubium, sed est dignum uti quibus dignum argumentum.* *Quint. Inst. lib. 1. c. 10. cap. 1. § 1.* This ceremonial law was revised and promulgated, under the name of Gaius, by the decree and authority of Manu.

† *Indigne temporibus, sed illi interventus.* &c. the original quotation in the back of the Title† and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 1, p. 128, 129) writes in his concluding the story of Valentin's conversion here.

‡ *Qui dicitur in hoc tractatu de divinis sacramentis, cap. 1. § 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.*

as was a stranger to their monstrous vice; and  
his hands were stained only with the blood of  
automata.<sup>1</sup> PRÆF.  
XXVII.  
REVENUES.

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his  
character in the eyes of mankind, could not have  
disturbed the security of his reign, if the army  
had not been provoked to resent their peculiar  
injuries. As long as the young emperor was  
guided by the instructions of his masters, he pro-  
fessed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers;  
many of his hours were spent in the familiar con-  
versation of the camp, and the health, the com-  
forts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful  
troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive  
concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged  
his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he  
naturally connected himself with the most dex-  
terous ministers of his favourite amusement. A  
body of the Alani was received into the military  
and domestic service of the palace; and the ad-  
mirable skill, which they were accustomed to dis-  
play in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was  
exercised on a more narrow theatre, in the parks  
and inclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the  
talents and customs of these favourite guards, to  
whom alone he intrusted the defence of his per-  
son: and as if he meant to insult the public opi-  
nion, he frequently shewed himself to the soldiers

Discussion  
of the  
Roman  
Troops.  
L. O. 202.

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus (lib. 18.) and the younger Vindex acknowledge the  
cruelty of Gratian; and express, in rather harsh, but expressive terms.  
The editors parallel of Commodus is cited by "A. G. H. incommensurably"  
and perhaps, P. P. incommensurably (lib. 2, c. 10, and Galatius, p. 401) had  
gratified, with some similar respect, the emperor of Nero.

CHAP. and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow,  
 XXVII: the sounding quiver, and the far garments, of a  
 Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a  
 Roman prince, who had renounced the dress and  
 arms of his country, filled the minds of the  
 legions with grief and indignation.\* Even the  
 Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies  
 of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and  
 horrid appearance of the savages of the North,  
 who, in the space of a few years, had wandered  
 from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine.  
 A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through  
 the camps and garrisons of the West: and as the  
 mild indulgence of Gratian neglected to extinguish  
 the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love  
 and respect was not supplied by the influence  
 of fear. But the subversion of an established  
 government is always a work of some real, and  
 of much apparent, difficulty: and the throne of  
 Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom,  
 law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil  
 and military powers, which had been established  
 by the policy of Constantine. It is not very im-  
 portant to inquire from what causes the revolt of  
 Britain was produced. Accident is commonly  
 the parent of disorder: the seeds of rebellion  
 happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to  
 be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and

\* *Quintus R.* i. p. 144. and see *Caesar's* *Vitæ* under the  
 rebellion of the desert of the Alps, and the discovery of the Roman  
 empire. Some passages suggested, at pages 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

usurpers: the legions of that sequestered island had long been famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance; and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary, but unanimous voice, both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment: the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage, which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.<sup>1</sup> But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity: and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general.

<sup>1</sup> Britannia fertis provincie tyrannum, is a plausible supposition, used by Silius in the Palladius controversy, and certainly important in the progress of our national investigation. The verifications of the last are supposed to justify the image of the British Emperor, "and who, I think, progress you are more apt to consider as."

<sup>2</sup> Evidence says of the British military, was given, perhaps it is not to be taken as a true name.

<sup>3</sup> There is the daughter of Philip. Her character may still survive in Caernarvon, now Caernarvon, Caer's Hill at England, vol. 2, p. 448, from Boswell's Short History. The province under may not perhaps be satisfied with such British evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Caernarvon civil & military, p. 448. Equates like questions of Britain; and the father of our antiquaries is full of it, as much, by his blind tendency. Parents and children had taken some pains to prevent this error, he tells; and I shall protest myself by this former testimony. Babel's British evidence seems, in every other instance, the progress. Vol. 10, 11, and the Greek translation, still less apparently, from Maximus is also a great error every way. Vol. 11, p. 116.



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His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurings of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult, he artfully, or modestly, refused to ascend the throne: and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple.\*

Flight and  
death of  
Maxim.

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and arms, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.† The emperor, in his peaceful residence

\* *Julianus Africanus*, *Dialog. de E. Constant.*, l. vi., c. 22, p. 126. They both acknowledge Chaulpise had been his emperor, his governor and friend. It is credible enough, that Maximus should be less completely treated by Zosimus, the partial historian of his rival.

† Archbishop Fisher (*Antiquities Britan. Eccles.*, p. 107, 108) has diligently collected the legends of the island and the continent. The whole emigration consisted of 20,000 soldiers, and 100,000 Britons.



of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach: and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources, which he still might have found, in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the West fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached, in safety, the dominions of his brother; and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the East: if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was unmoved by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a

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placemen, who arrived at Orange. Their destined soldier, his Tercio was 14,000 soldiers, and 50000 pikemen, 10000 musketeers, every kind of artillery, and were all most exactly employed by the House. But the pikemen were have been distributed at their several barracks, and what is still harder, John Truitt, more concerned to maintain the ability of these British veterans.

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XXVII. arrival of Andragathus, the general of the cavalry  
of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That  
resolute officer executed, without remorse, the  
orders, or the intensions, of the usurper. Gra-  
tian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into  
A. D. 362. the hands of the assassin; and his body was shewn  
Aug. 24. to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother  
Valentinian.\* The death of the emperor was  
followed by that of his powerful general Mollo-  
bundes, the king of the Franks; who maintained,  
to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous  
reputation, which is the just recompence of obscure  
and subtle policy.† These executions might be  
necessary to the public safety; but the successful  
usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all  
the provinces of the West, had the merit, and  
the satisfaction, of boasting, that except those  
who had perished by the chance of war, his tri-  
umph was not stained by the blood of the Ro-  
mans.‡

\* *Historia A. V.* p. 118, 119, was transported, the death of Gra-  
tian. *Geogr. Imperatoris de Andragathus de Andragathus de Andragathus*  
Andragathus may be extracted from the *Chronicon*; some last may be  
extracted from *Historia A. V.* p. 118, and *Historia A. V.* p. 119. And  
Andragathus may be extracted from *Historia A. V.* p. 118, and  
p. 119. *Historia A. V.* p. 118, and p. 119. And p. 118, and p. 119.

† *Historia A. V.* p. 118, and p. 119. And p. 118, and p. 119.

‡ He protested, against an advantage not to be acknowledged. *Geogr.*  
*Imperatoris de Andragathus de Andragathus de Andragathus*  
Andragathus, and the other writers, praise in his country. And p. 118,  
p. 119, and p. 119.

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the Eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs; announced to the court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condemned to justice, or excuse, the conduct of his master; and to protest, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gra-

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Travels of  
some in-  
terest  
Maximus  
and The-  
odosius.  
A. D. 385.  
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tion, he had received the imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries, than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus; and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign, by the sense of superior duties: and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an innocent criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire: the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the North. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maximus should content himself, with the possession of the countries be-



pond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, FRAN.  
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Africa, and the Western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceased emperor.<sup>2</sup> According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that, in the moment of a solemn reconciliation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge.<sup>3</sup>

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honours, both on earth and in heaven. The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery, that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the East to the hands of a soldier, whose humble faith, and fervent zeal, were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities* concerning the reign of Gratian, give some strength to this, chap. ix. c. 18. p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Zonaras*, l. ix. p. 241, 242. We may doubtless be allowed to suppose, that we cannot reject the treaty of peace which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or rightly mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Their origin, the nobility of Milan, assigns to the great Constantine an high and respectable place in history. *Ann. l. de Otto V. c. 18.* p. 117.



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of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptised in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism\* from Ambrosius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica; and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects.

" It is our pleasure (such is the imperial style)  
 " that all the nations, which are governed by our  
 " clemency and moderation, should stedfastly  
 " adhere to the religion which was taught by St.

\* For the baptism of Theodosius, see Socrates, *l. vi. c. 8*; Sozomen, *l. i. c. 22*; and Theodoret, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 176).

\* Ambrosius, or Ambrose, was promoted by the friendship and the prayers of Augustine, who writes him, several lines above Constantine (*l. ii. epist. xv. p. 987*), and afterwards celebrates his apostasy and apostasy in writing to Constantine, (*l. ii. epist. xvi. p. 987*); a letter which does not appear to have been sent, or a bishop.

" Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition  
 " has preserved; and which is now professed by  
 " the pious Damascus, and by Peter, bishop of  
 " Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. Ac-  
 " cording to the discipline of the apostles, and  
 " the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the  
 " sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the  
 " Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a  
 " pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of  
 " this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic  
 " Christians; and as we judge, that all others are  
 " extravagant madmen, we brand them with the  
 " infamous name of Heretics; and declare, that  
 " their conventicles shall no longer usurp the  
 " respectable appellation of churches. Besides  
 " the condemnation of Divine justice, they must  
 " expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our  
 " authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall  
 " think proper to inflict upon them." The  
 birth of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instigati-  
 tion, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor  
 always fixed his eyes on the visible land-marks of  
 orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted,  
 his religious opinions were never affected by the  
 specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the  
 ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once  
 indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse  
 with the eloquent and learned Eusebius, who  
 lived in retirement at a small distance from Con-

\* *Justin. Trypho.* l. 1. p. 176. *ib.* l. 2. p. 222. *Constitutio Constantini.* c. 1. *ib.* p. 258. " Such an edict deserved the warmest praise of Balaam, *superbum specimen, virtutis prout et splendor.*"—*See* *his*  
*ed. not.*

that Asiatic standpoint. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the eunuch Placcilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband: and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed, on his eldest son, Arcadius, the name and honours of Augustus: and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphilocheus of Iconium, approached the throne, and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness which he might have used towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders, that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming, with a loud voice,—“Such is the treatment, O Emperor! which the King of Heaven has prepared for those impious men, who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son.” Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson, which he had received from this dramatic parable.\*

\* Seebeck, *U. G.*, c. 61; Theodoret, *l. v.*, c. 14. Tillemont is disappointed (*Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. vi., p. 337, 338) with the terms of “evening prayers” — *oratio vespertina*. “Yet I must take leave to think, that both *explicationes* and *oratio* were objects of considerable importance in the Roman empire.”

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A mention  
of Constanti-  
nople,  
A. D. 310.  
286.

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Ariandism; and, in a long interval of forty years,\* the faith of the princes and prelates, who reigned in the capital of the East, was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxus and Dimeophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis; and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry, the effects of their lequacious zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians; and preach in the shops, and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you, wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing."

\* See *ibid.* l. vii. c. l. Eusebius, l. vi. c. 7. *Maximinus in Chron.* The account of Eusebius must be dated from the worst of persecutions of Christians; who wisely exchanged the Bithynia of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

\* See *Justin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 71. The unorthodox Christian of Gregory Nazianzen affords several similar ideas, when some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the words of this remarkable passage, which I allege, on the faith of a learned and rigid scholar.



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The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoeonians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.\* But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen,† were distinguished above all their contemporaries,‡ by the rare union of profane

Gregory  
Nazianzen.

\* See the thirty-second Edition of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in Latin verses. The very pleasant is found in explaining the incoherence and of the manner which he has used.

† French has upon largely published in the last time of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillamont, *Mém. Ecles. tom. vi. p. 555-560, 675-711.* and La Caze, *Abbe de la Pieuvre*, tom. xviii, p. 1-179.

‡ Unless Gregory Nazianzen, remark that just in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The geographical chronology of Basil has been gradually made all, because it removes the ground of Gregory's letters, a saint Basil, leaving children, after he became a bishop. Tillamont, *Mém. Ecles. tom. vi. p. 625-637.*

eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves, and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenious breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil, from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Caesarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult. Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village

\* Gregory's Place in his own life contains some beautiful passages, pp. 95, which have warmed the heart, and opened the eyes of several and true friendships.—

— *from some letters*

Quartus, vi. and previous days.

See the original, p. 100, 101.

\* *Gregory's words, in the same place.*

Asperitudo enim, quod est in illis.

In the Mohammedan Night's Process, Basilian addresses the same person as compared to his friend Basilian.—

Is all my mind's eye and soul still Basilian.

The same's voice, &c.

Basilian's had not yet read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-in-law, the language of nature, in the most la Capriccio and in Italian.

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of Sasima,<sup>2</sup> without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three high-ways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggons. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests, that he never condemned his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus,<sup>3</sup> of which his father had been bishop above five and forty years. But as he was still conscious, that he deserved another audience, and another theatre, he accepted, with an unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation, which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable knave; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Academia* was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the civility of the succeeding age

Accepted for  
mission of  
Constanti-  
nople,  
A. D. 376,  
September.

<sup>2</sup> This miserable portion of Sasima is shown by Gregory Nazianzen, *Opera* in. de Vita &c. p. 7, 8. Its precise situation, forty miles north from Antioch, and thirty-two from Tyana, is found in the History of Antioch, p. 344, ed. Wesseling.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Nazianzus had been institutional by Gregory's father the same town, under the name of *Basus*, title of *Quintus*, *Chilmenus*, *Mus*, *Lucius*, &c. in. p. 681. It was called by *Phrygia*, *the Paphlagonia*, and *Hieropolis*, *Strabo*, *Wesseling*, p. 109. It appears to have been situate on the edge of Sasima.

was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the Mother of God. The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous and various fortunes of a missionary.<sup>3</sup> The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd "of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity: of monks, who had the appearance of ghouls or satyrs; and of women, more terrible than so many Jerzebels." The doors of the Anastasia were broke open: much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing, that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disunited and distracted by intestine

<sup>3</sup> See Hefner, *Comment. Christiani*, l. iv. p. 142, 143. The *Acta* of Gregory Nazianzen, l. ii. c. 11, is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistolarum* (Mansi, *Epistolæ*, tom. ix. p. 318, 319.) diligently collected, collated, and explained, the ecclesiastical and pastoral letters of Gregory Nazianzen.



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*A. D. 340.*

faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus,<sup>1</sup> and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his labours were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,<sup>2</sup> or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.<sup>3</sup>

The catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head

*Time of Arrival  
at Constantinople,  
A. D. 340,  
Nov. 26.*

<sup>1</sup> He presumed, as various texts (A. B. C. orig. capit. p. 409) in the Greek; and other still more, the name of Maximus was changed here that of Honor. (see *Actus* from C. in Catalog. Script. Eccles. p. 207.) I shall display in these volumes and personal opinions.

<sup>2</sup> Under the useful authority of St. Jerome, Gregory Mart. de. c. 10. c. 17. p. 20. describes the same person, with some laudable complacency. Yet it should seem, from his disagreeable conversation with his auditors (St. Jerome from A. B. C. in Epistol. ad Nepotian. p. 10.) that the preacher undervalued the true value of personal opinion.

<sup>3</sup> The person mentioned from text 10. is the very and just man of St. Jerome.

of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hesitation, a life of poverty and exile,\* and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill; whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but as the angels who protected the catholic cause, were only visible to the eyes of faith, he powerfully reinforced these heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully

\* Seebeck, (A. V. c. 13.) and Seebeck, (A. V. c. 13.) mention the criminal study and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He concludes, says Seebeck, that it is difficult to raise the persecuted; but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to subvert.

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placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (as he had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd: that the glittering arms, which surrounded his person, were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex, and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses: he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.<sup>1</sup> About six weeks afterwards, Théodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;<sup>2</sup> and this ex-

In the East,  
A. D. 384;  
Jan. 10.

<sup>1</sup> See Gregory Nazianzen, *serm. de vita sua*, p. 24, 25. For the sake of poverty, the bishop of Constantinople received a singular privilege. In the month of November, he had a solemn assembly, and the doors broke forth, when the multitude entered the church.

<sup>2</sup> Of the three orthodox libraries, Théodosius gave (6. v. c. 7) the most important one to Sapor, which Théodosius (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 186) justly considers, from the name of Sapor, as that of Théodosius.



ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist, would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might stain the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion; but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ: and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the sublime perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine

\* I do not reject Philostorgius, though he is called (l. vi. c. 17) the apostate of Demophilus. The *Evangelical History* has been carefully attended through an unbiassed eye.



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favour: while the followers of Arius must have been tormented, by the secret apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honours, which he bestowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arrianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind; but the doctrine of the Nicene Creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council  
of Nicaea.  
written  
upon A. D.  
325, May.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who prevailed, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God: and the various opinions, which were embraced concerning the Second, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the Third, person of the Trinity.\* Yet it was found, or it was thought necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arrianism, to explain the ambiguous lan-

\* Le Clerc has given a curious account (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xiii. p. 151-153) of the theological system which Gregory Nazianzen presented at Constantinople against the Ariana, Eusebiana, Macedonian, &c. He tells the Nicæanists, who called the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled Teachers at *Edessa*. Gregory himself was almost a Trinitarian, and his assembly of bishops resembled a well-regulated academy.

gauge of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three Gods*. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to rectify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the Christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosia, the second rank among the general councils.<sup>1</sup> Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the Fathers of Constantinople. In an age, when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were, the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prelate flexibility, their creeds

<sup>1</sup> The first general council of Constantinople was assembled in the Vatican but the pope having dissented, and their hostilities growing, and almost stopped, the second council, (Mans. Eccl. Hist. tom. II. p. 498, 500).



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XXVII. the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled, by the adused or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peacefully to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the Western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate,\* rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the greatest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to waspish magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese.<sup>†</sup>

\* Before the death of Meletius, he, at sight of his most powerful opponents, among whom was Flavian, had chosen, for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Jerusalem, *Chronicon*, l. vi., c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The most faithful of his clergy, he discovered the party; and he knew that there was great resistance to the acts of Flavian, which were inconsistent with the spirit of the patriarch and the emperor. *Idem*, *op. cit.*, l. vi., c. 11, p. 341.

† *Chronicon Georgii Synodici de Antiochia*, tom. 2, p. 21-26. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies, parts 10



A suspicion may possibly arise, that so unfavorable a picture of ecclesiastical symbols has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president; in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced, instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the East, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation

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*Retreat of  
Gregory  
Nazianzen,  
A. D. 384.*

born in Samos and priest, *Orat.* i. *serm.* 4. p. 23, *epist.* 16. p. 314; *hom.* 12, *epist.* 2. p. 475. Such passages are freely quoted by Tillamont, and freely pursued by Le Clerc.

\* See Gregory, *hom.* 10, de Yill. vol. p. 28-31. The fragments, twenty-fourth, and thirty-second canticles were pronounced in the sacred songs of this occasion. The perfection of the last, *hom.* 1. p. 376, in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the emperor, the East and the West, &c. is pathetic and almost sublime.





his name; but the tenderness of his heart,\* and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

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It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven, and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics, who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics;† more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws, or rescripts, should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud, or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons, of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed

*Edicts of Theodosius against the Novatians, &c. O. 380-394.*

\* I can only be understood to mean, that such was his paternal temper; when it was not softened, or softened, by religious truth. From his conversion, he exhorts Novatians to promote the honour of Constantinople.

† See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. 9, leg. 8-25, with Gregory's commentary on such law, and his general summary, in *Constitutiones*, tom. vi. p. 104-110.

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in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of Bishops, or Presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rites, of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or procure, an heretical ordination; and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibitions of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their consciences. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building or ground, which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication; which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of



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infancy: and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honours, or lucrative employments: and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed, that as the *Economians* distinguished the nature of the son from that of the father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichean heresy was retained of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the *Andians*, or *Quintodecimanis*,\* who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitor* of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared, less desirous to punish, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory subjects.<sup>†</sup>

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it, Execution of Persecution and the punishment, A. D. 392.

\* They always kept their Fasten, like the Jewish Passover, at the full-moon day of the third moon after the vernal equinox; and thus perpetually opposed the Roman church and Nicene council, which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. *Hugheim's Dissertations*, t. II. c. 2, vol. II. p. 399, fol. 300.

† *Armenius*, l. vii. c. 12.



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CONTINUED

in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague, Maximus, the first among the Christian princes, who shed the blood of his Christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,\* a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bourdeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the pretorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian himself, bishop of Avila,† in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Lattronius, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Eudrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator Delphi-

\* See the Sacred History of Religious Societies, &c. &c. p. 255-262, and Lloyd's Hist. 1645, a curious and original relation. Dr. Lector's Christianity, &c. part II. lib. IV. p. 146-150) was beloved this society, with just feelings, great awe, and veneration. Tillotson (Mem. Eccles. tom. VII. p. 281-282) has put together all the dirt of the followers: an useful passage?

† Several Spaniards mention the archbishop with respect and pity. Felix justifies, it was proved, would accomplish a glorious reputation; proved itself to be a sect of corrupt and dissolute men, Olib. Rom. 1. 10. 1239. Even Jerome (lib. I. de Alogis, Epist. p. 200) speaks with respect of Priscillian and Lattronius.

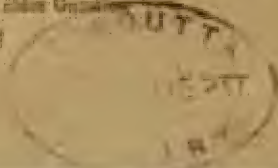
\* The bishopric of old Castille was worth 20,000 sesterces a year, nothing's Geography, vol. II. p. 200; and it, therefore, much less likely to produce the author of a new library.

disob.<sup>3</sup> Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;<sup>4</sup> and some indulgence was shewn to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.<sup>5</sup> Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Eulacroia, had been suppressed, by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their

<sup>3</sup> Reprobatione veluti vitio vitio religio, et diligenter solis dominum, &c. in Paganis, Vol. III, 29. Such was the use of a harusp, through ignorance, Polytheism.

<sup>4</sup> One of them was sent to Northern Ireland, where still Belandier is. What might have been the subject-matter of the work of Scilly? Camden's Britannia, Vol. II, p. 1510.

<sup>5</sup> The scandalous calumnies of Augustine, Pope Leo, &c. which Tidemann swallows like a child, and Lardner repeats like a man, may suggest some natural suspicions in favour of the elder Gens.



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continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, incited to a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichean systems; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people; but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan,\* and Martin of Tours;† who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy man, who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised, and shocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the human feelings of nature resisted

\* See MARTIN, *l'ouv. de l'esp. xvi.*, p. 204.

† In the Sacred History, and the life of St. Martin, written by some monk, we find a long and curious account of the death of this saint. Martin was executed, according to his own confession, and by all eyes; not even, he afterwards suffered suffering with an unshaken mind.



the artificial prejudices of theology. The immunity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian, and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves, by exercising the function of jurors in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ilmarius,\* who beheaded the tortures, and solicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodised in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics, who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher.

*Archbishop  
of Nicaea,  
A. D. 371,  
375.*

\* The catholic manuscript, *Urbis. Sever. l. 2. p. 446.* and the pagan version, *Urbis. in Pausan. Vol. vii. 79.* reproduce, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ilmarius.



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the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;<sup>a</sup> but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.<sup>b</sup> He was descended from a noble family of Romans: his father had exercised the important office of pretorian prefect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius

<sup>a</sup> The life of St. Martin, and the *Dialogues* (undergoing the same criticism, whether facts assigned to the greatest historians, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age) so abound in the allusion between good men and good wives, that I am always reminded by this circumstance.

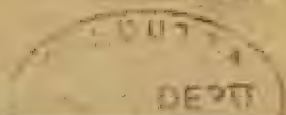
<sup>b</sup> The plain and superficial life of St. Ambrose, by his disciple Paulinus, (*Appendix ad vit. Basilien.* p. 646), has the mark of simplicity of evidence. Tillmanns, *Mon. Eccles. tom. 2. p. 76-200*, and the *Monachian* writers, in particular, have followed with their usual diligence.

soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to controul the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was despatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.\* Ambrose had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feebler sovereigns.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Justina,

His em-  
perors ap-  
pointed to  
the emperor  
Justina,  
A. D. 383,  
April 10.

\* Ambrose himself (l. vi. c. 21, p. 283, 284) gives (but not with a very spirited account of his own embassy.



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a woman of beauty and spirit, but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justin was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might share, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles. The palace of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar; but the churches were the houses of God; and, within the folds of his discourse, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference, or negotiation, with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrileges; and Justin, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public

\* His own representation of his principles and conduct, from A. 390-42, A.D. 375, p. 322-370, is one of the earliest monuments of ecclesiastical poetry. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a preface to Valentinian, and the poems in *diatribe* and *prohemio*.



devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject; but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace: and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days, which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and banishment. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, Basilica, for the immediate reception of the emperor, and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner: but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics, who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives: and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his ac-



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mons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants, of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses: and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor: but he would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar: he had not contributed to excite,

"but it was in the power of God alone to appease the rage of the people: he deplored the scenes of blood and confusion, which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer, that he might not survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy."\* The obstinate bigotry of Justin would have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Basilica*, which was the object of the dispute: and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of these foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, Whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic? The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation: and the empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan: and to dissemble.

\* But had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would suppress the business of Peace. It was no longer in the power, &c. A great festival held on this same power your weight in support, in disunity, de regno, et de communication, &c. (Mansueti, torn. 4. p. 149). Certainly I do not compare either the causes, or the men: yet the comparison himself had some (lib. 1p. 84) of instating St. Ambrose.

CHAP. XXVI. till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

A. D. 386. The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excite the resistance of the catholics. By the influence of Justin, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan: the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and voluntary constitution, should be capitally punished, as the enemies of the public peace.\* The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints, who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty,

\* *See above, lib. 25. c. 16. v. 115. thereby that resolution soon into a fact and perpetual duration.*



appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people. They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signaling their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius,\* had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found, with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The

<sup>2</sup> Karpman [2] gives a method for finding such solutions. See also [3].

\* Williamson, *Mass. Birds*, tom. 7, p. 15, 168. Many churches in Italy, France, &c. were dedicated to these valiant warriors, of whom St. George seems to have been more commonly than the others.

\* I have not seen the printed version of this report, which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1911, p. 111. The date of this diagnosis was given as 1909 or 1910, and it is the popular opinion of the printed version.



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*continued*

holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and their preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man,\* and the reluctant confessions of several heretics, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who, at that time, professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justin and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations, which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expence, of the archbishop.† Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the

tyranny of the human senses; which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

*Grandisq[ue] affinis m[er]itoq[ue] non recedebat.*

\* Ambrose, *tom. ii.* epist. xxiij. p. 352. Augustin, *Confes. l. ii. c. 7.* De Civit. Dei. l. xii. c. 8. Paulin. in Vol. 6. Ambros. c. 14. in Append. Boudier, p. 4. The blind man's name was Symon; he touched the holy garments, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty days) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our doctors, if it did not prove the weakness of vision, as well as the Naxos crew.

† Paulin. in Vol. 6. Ambros. c. 3. in Append. Boudier, p. 5.

frontside of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose; the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.<sup>b</sup>

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The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not disguised by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness, and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted<sup>c</sup> from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious smiles, Domitianus of Syria, the ambassador of Valen-

Maximus  
invades  
Italy,  
A. D. 287,  
August.

<sup>b</sup> Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. x. p. 180, 181. He partially shares the mediation of Theodosius; and cautiously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

<sup>c</sup> The smaller tribute of Salpinx (Dialog. ii. 15) infers a much deeper wound than the facile declaration of Caesary, *l. ii. 26*.

quæ  
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Justin, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of friendship; but the Syrian Dominions was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger, with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambuscade; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleams of armour, and the dust excited by the trappings of cavalry, first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justin and her son might accuse their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and resolution, to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field, or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin.

\* But there were some historians, who ascribed the murder to the wife of Justin, and the wife of Maximus, both of whom, after his return from his second embassy,



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Maximus entered Milan in triumph: and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by instilling, from the pulpit, the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance. The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety: but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications: she dreaded the event of a siege: and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the imperial family: they embarked with precipitation in one of the *adriatic* harbours of Venetia, or Istria: traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas: turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus: and, after a long, but successful, navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica.

All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance: and if the little city of Ancona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica: but

Flight of  
Valen-  
tinian.

Theodosius  
before went  
to the house  
of Valen-  
tinian.  
A. D. 387.

\* Maximus (A. D. 387, N. 67) appears in this account of going almost bare of the powerful assistance of the nobility.



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these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the East gently admonished Justin, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of his son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred, by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians, who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour, and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons,

which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated, whether he should draw the sword in a contest, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and the welfare of his exhausted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian.<sup>1</sup> The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish, with peculiar com-

<sup>1</sup> The flight of Valentinian, and the loss of Theodosius the Great, are related by Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 283, 284). Zosimus perhaps some-  
times and indigently evinces his antipathy to the sacred marriage of  
Theodosius, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 286), and consequently  
to relate the conduct of Zosimus, and strictly they contradict it in the  
de Theodosius.

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placency, a gentle horn, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the East seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear, that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhætan provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design, that as soon as a passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian, and his mother, should land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the meanwhile, Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the siege of Emona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Sava.

Defeat and  
death of  
Maximus,  
A. D. 388,  
June-Aug.  
390.

The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance, and successive resources, of the tyrant Magnus, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the con-



test with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the West, was easily decided in the term of two months,\* and within the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the East might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important crisis, shewed himself destitute of military skill, or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans; by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Saone, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Emoua, Theodosius pressed forwards, to ter-

\* See Guizot's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 4, p. 119.



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minute the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the disgrace of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he shewed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the West, who had never been his personal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the fierce emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice, and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat

and death was received with sincere, or well-dissembled, joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan, to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire.<sup>b</sup>

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty, and without reluctance; and posterity will confess, that the character of Theodosius<sup>c</sup> might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric. The wisdom of his laws, and the success of his arms,

Victor of  
Theodo-  
sius.

<sup>a</sup> Besides the titles which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus, li. vi, p. 358-367; Orosius, li. vii, c. 25, and Plinius, de Pliny, Ven. ed. 26-45, supply the laws and every materials of our end was. Ambrose lires. li, apud. li, p. 912, 925, surely alludes to the well-known words of a magnificence, an action of Providence, a fashion, perhaps a novel, victory. See Ambrose ep. 256, edit. Telf. applauds the peculiar merit, and good fortune, of Aquilina.

<sup>b</sup> Quam perceptorum laudare principum, tam laudem attulisse de jure esse, (Plinius de Pliny, Ven. ed. 26. Latinius Patricius Imperatoris, a cultus of God, pronounced this action at Rome, (A. D. 393.) He was afterwards pronounced at Africa; and his friend Ausonius praised him as a poet, inserted only in Virgil. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 222.

<sup>c</sup> See the full portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the virtues are distinct, and the virtues are mixed. The praise of Theodosius is too vague; and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

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rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects, and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed, without excess, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were softened by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; his mark was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent: Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons, who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask: the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours and services, which he had received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious, or lively, tone of his conversation, was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his subjects whom he admitted into his society: and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of



the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an useful, or even of an innocent, nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time, and the abilities, of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his leisure for the instructive amusement of reading. History, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, presented him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed, that whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodosius has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune: the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the most conspicuous after the danger and success of the civil war. The Moorish grounds of the tyrant had been measured in the first heat of the victory; and a small number of the most obnoxious criminals suffered the punishment of the law. But the emperor shewed him-







was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent, but trifling, pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress, or regulate, the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty, which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never satisfied with their own situation, or with the character, and conduct, of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions

The well-  
known of  
Antioch,  
A. D. 387.

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excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expenses that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief of Europe. The auspicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donation, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burden. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose, and pleasures, of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd, who, in pathetic, but, at first, in respectful, language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually informed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their seditious wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a feeble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the imperial family, which were erected as objects of public veneration, in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Placidia, of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were



insolently thrown down from their pedestals; broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets; and the indignities which were offered to the representations of imperial majesty sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime.<sup>1</sup> According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province despatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime, and the assurance of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and, most probably, the disciple, of Libanius; whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country.<sup>2</sup> But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and notwithstanding the diligence of the imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror, that their sovereign,

<sup>1</sup> The Christians and pagans agreed in believing, that the sentence of Antioch was ratified by the emperor. A pious woman being exposed, L. 10, c. 25 provided the emperor with a mirror to his face. An old man (says Libanius, *Opus*, vii. p. 266) transferred himself into a street, then a boy, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Libanius, in his short and dissipated career, L. 6, p. 228. This is certainly mistaken in calling Libanius present at Constantine's death. He was residing in Asia at Antioch.



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exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and, more especially, to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city: and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants; many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-four days after the sedition, the general Hellicenus, and Cæsarius, master of the officers, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the East, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea.\* The baths, the circus, and the theatres, were shut: and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished, by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals: of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellicenus and Cæsarius, accompanied with

\* *Libanius* (lib. i. p. 6, edit. Voetii) declares, that, under such a regime, the fear of a massacre was general; and, indeed, especially in the emperor's absence; so his presence, according to the dispersed laws, might have given a sanction to the most bloody acts.

\* *Laodicea*, on the mountains, very close upon from Antioch, (see *Notæ Epistolæ*, *Syn. Hier. Brevi. vi.* p. 120). The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to interfere for them.

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Continued.

armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the Forum. The richest, and most wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch, appeared before them in chains: the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended, according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day,\* which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them: they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pious solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.† Malchirus and Censorius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople; and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of

Chronology  
of Theodosius.

\* At the close of the month depend on the seasonally festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 312 has been preferred, after a solution proposed by Tillemont, (*Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 141-143*); and Montfaucon, (*Chrysostomus, tom. xii. p. 162-163*).

† Chrysostom opposes their departure, which was not attended with much risk, to the seasonal flight of the Cyrenes.

CHAP. XXVII. Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the senate, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of justice and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison-doors were thrown open; and senators, who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the East was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren; he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed, that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.\*

April 25.

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much

Sedition and massacre of Theodosius, A. D. 391.

\* The sedition of Antioch is represented as a party, and almost dramatic, contest, by two orators, who had their respective shares of passion and merit. See Lactantius, *Orat.* vii. c. 7, p. 398-418, with *Maxim. Opus* i. p. 1-12, *Vossii* II. 241, and the lively imagery of St. John Chrysostom, *de Epistola Thom.* i. p. 1-473, with *Maximianus*, l. 7 de *us* potestate in such personal applications with Chrysostom; see *Yldebrandi*, *Orat.* de *Epistola*, tom. vi. p. 292-296, and *Maximianus*, *Opus* de *Epistola*, tom. i. p. 227-234, but read now with great caution and diligence.



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.....

more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications, and numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insistent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite: and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes: and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered: their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and cholerick temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry.



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and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge: the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again lulled by the flattering suggestions of his minister, Rufinus: and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians: and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the Circus: and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt: the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand: and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the name of Gothic. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his

wealth, to supply the place of one of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.\*

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately com-

\* The original evidence of Ambrose, *deus. li. c. viii. p. 248*; *Augustinus, de Civitat. Dei. x. c. 20*, and *Facundus, de Vit. Ambrosii. c. 24*, is delivered in vague expressions of horror and grief. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen, *l. vi. c. 25*; Theodoret, *ii. c. 17*; Theophanes, *Illustrat. 194. p. 472*; *Codexinus, ep. 317*; and Zonaras, *lib. ii. l. viii. p. 341*. Zonaras alone, the partial enemy of Theodosius, does not unreasonably permit even in silence the error of his actions.

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manipulated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion, that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditionous prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to repay the damage: and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan.\* He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion: boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the most poetical terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit, publicly addressed

\* See the whole transaction in Ambrose, *serm. de epist. ad. M.*, p. 214, 215, and his *supplicat. Proconsul.*, c. 24. Butler and Kiersey (Mariani *Ant. Pers.* c. 24. p. 224, &c.) have justly condemned the archbishop.

\* His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's lode, of an almond tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the persuasion is direct and personal.



the emperor on his throne; nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere; and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the imbuings of pious and familiar conversation.

Pentecost of  
Theodosius  
...  
A. D. 390

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime: which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying<sup>a</sup> an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assur-

<sup>a</sup> *History, Episcopate, de ore proposita.* Ambrose modestly, and candidly let his strongly-expressed Theodosius, present to the lower and fact, what had previously to say, that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

<sup>b</sup> Yet, few years afterwards, when Theodosius was about four, his maternal grandfather, he tolerated the Jews, and recommended the destruction of their synagogues. *Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. xlii. leg. II.* and *Glossary's Commentary, book vi. p. 213.*

<sup>c</sup> Ambrose, *tom. iv. epist. ii. p. 357-358.* This Epistle is a noble display of a noble subject. Ambrose could not better than he could write. His compositions are diamonds of sense, or pearls; without the spirit of Tertullian, the elegant eloquence of Lactantius, the boldness of Julian, or the grand energy of Augustine.



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ance, that he had been warned in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence of, Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty

years;\* and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the pœdic edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins.<sup>†</sup> In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his

\* According to the description of St. Basil, (Cæsar. lvi.) the voluntary penitent was *four years a monk*; *five an hermit*; *came to a penitential meal*; and *died in a standing posture*. I have the original, (Beveridge, ed. select, tom. ii. p. 47-131), and a translation, (Barlow, Hist. des Saints, tom. iv. p. 210-277), of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

† The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose, tom. vi. de Offic. Theodori. l. iii. p. 1607; Agapetta, de Cæsar. Del. v. 19; and Paulinus, (in Vit. Ambrosii. c. 34). Socinus is ignorant; Sociniani (l. vii. c. 23) censure; and the various history of Theodosius (l. v. c. 18) must be read with precaution.

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repentance.\* Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws, and tributers, of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper."† The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination, and interest, of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may induce, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy, and with equal success.

Generosity  
of Theod.  
A. D. 386.  
281.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the East: he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy, were usefully employed to rectify the

\* Codex Theod. l. 1. c. 12, 13, leg. 12. The state and character of this law are explained with diffidence: but I had hoped to find in favour the honest efforts of Vithemius, (Hic. de Reg. tom. 2. p. 371), and Eupl. de Reg. tom. 2. p. 372.

† Ep. ad Leon. p. 10. In regem, ut qui se videt, ut qui facit et videt se se regem se facit, et se regem se facit. Epist. ad Leon. l. 1. c. 10, p. 10.



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XXII.

authority of the laws; and to correct the abuses, which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts: but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justin, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle, and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosius had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He seated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered from the assassin of Gratian.<sup>1</sup> Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the West from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to

<sup>1</sup> Thus was his enormous valour displayed, in the signal prize of Zosimus himself, c. 10, p. 247. Augustin says, with more happiness of expression, Valentinianus . . . restitutusque revocatusque restitit.

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Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the East, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian: and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

Character  
of Valentinian, A. D.  
391.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy: and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son.<sup>a</sup> The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, were soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the West.<sup>b</sup> They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, soften his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by do-

<sup>a</sup> Socrates, l. vii. c. 14. His character is very irregular.

<sup>b</sup> See Ambrose, *Tract. de Idolo Valentiniano*, c. 13, &c. p. 1178, c. 36, &c. p. 1184. When the young emperor, grown unacquainted, by casual himself, he refused to see an infamous woman, &c. Thus he refused his wife Isaura to be killed, it is unnecessary to transcribe, *l. xi. c. 1* to reproach him with the love of that animal.

inestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes,\* a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined, either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government: the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, insensibly sunk into the precarious and dependant condition of a captive.<sup>†</sup> The indignation which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince, who felt that he was

\* Zosimus (l. iv. p. 373) places the name of Theodosius. But he is detected by Sozomen, (l. v. c. 23), and Orosius, (l. vii. c. 22).

† Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9, p. 134, in the second volume of the *Monachius of France*) has preserved a curious fragment of Calpurnius Alexander, an historian far more valuable than himself.



CHAP.

XXVII.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator: as the pledge of his sincerity, and the guardian of his safety. He contrived to apprise the emperor of the East of his helpless situation; and he declared, that, unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful: and, as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne; and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes, with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile, or the frown, of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard: and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to

His death  
A. D. 392,  
May 25.

disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair.<sup>1</sup> His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan; and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration to commemorate his virtue, and his misfortunes.<sup>2</sup> On this occasion, the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss.<sup>3</sup>

CHAP.  
XXVII.  
*Continued.*

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs: and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty were extinguished, expected, with unmeasured resignation, the unknown master, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes himself; and the judicious barbarian thought it

*Corruption of Eugenius.  
A. D. 392.  
281.*

<sup>1</sup> See the History of Eugenius, p. 423-424; his malignity collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian II. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove this to be the case.

<sup>2</sup> De Obitu Valentiniani, torn. ii. p. 1173-1190. He is termed by Aquin a discreet and discreet language; yet he is much better than any tyrant, or perhaps any other monarch, should have dared to be.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 118, p. 1183, & 1185. But Chardon, (Hist. des Evénemens, torn. i. p. 166.) who was that the Ambrose most commonly maintains the indispensable necessity of baptism, follows in the footsteps of the contradiction.

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more advisable to reign under the name of some dependant Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius;\* whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary, to the rank of master of the offices. In the course both of his private and public service, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius: his learning and eloquence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people; and the reluctance, with which he seemed to ascend the throne, may inspire a favourable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian: and, without mentioning the name of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the East would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the respectable citizen, who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the West.† Theodosius was justly provoked, that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed, in a moment, the labours, and the fruit, of his former victory: and he was excited by the tears of his beloved

\* *Quem cum Germani simulacrum designaret eum.*

In the contemporary represent of Eugenius, (see *Europ. Hist.* 74.) Arbogastes professed Christianity; but his secret attachment to paganism (*German.* l. vii. c. 27. *Following.* l. vii. c. 29) is probable in a German noble, and would secure the stability of Eugenius, *ib.* p. 276, 277.

† *Eugenius* l. vii. p. 276 mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the events.



wife,<sup>1</sup> to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to assert by arms the violated majesty of the throne. But as the second conquest of the West was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed, with splendid presents, and an ambiguous answer, the ambassadors of Eugenius: and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to discover the will of Heaven; and as the progress of Christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles, and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolyra, in the remote province of Thebais.<sup>2</sup> In the neighbourhood of that city, and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John<sup>3</sup> had constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in

<sup>1</sup> Eutropius a few years before he landed on foreign conquests, *Ann.* l. vi. p. 275. He afterwards says, (p. 280), that Julia died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her husband was extreme, but short.

<sup>2</sup> Lycopolis is the modern Nat, or Oult, a town of Egypt, about the size of St. Denis, which does a profitable trade with the Kingdom of Senegal, and has a very convenient harbour. “*sigua portus*” “*sigua virginis etis eripuerunt*.” See d’Anville, *Description de l’Egypte*, p. 181; Abulfeda, *Description Egypt.* p. 14, and the various Authorities, p. 11, 56, of his editor Michælis.

<sup>3</sup> The life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Palladius, (l. i. c. i. p. 145), and Palladius, (*Hist. Lamiæ*, c. 43,

CHAP. XXVII. which he had dwelt alone fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire, or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturday and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of supplicants, who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody, but infallible victory.\* The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two master-generals, Stilicho and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the discipline of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were initiated in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he after-

p. 128), in Roesler's great Collection of the Vile Edition. This edition of *Hist. Eccl.* vol. ii. p. 118, 119, has omitted the foregoing.

\* *Stilicho*, l. vii. c. 18. (Cassiodorus *de Varisq.* c. 1, 273) seems to be the emperor's journey; but he most manifestly divides the Egyptian desert, and the gulches of the Nile.

marks so fully exerted for the destruction of that  
Rome." XXVII.

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The emperor of the West, or, to speak more properly, his general Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximian, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press, or to suspend, to contract, or to multiply, his various methods of attack.\* Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passages of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of

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Yet the result could scarcely have proved this possibility of living on.

<sup>1</sup> Charles H. Davis, *Case History*, 71, which presents the military plans of the two nations—

Novels and poems  
 Brought to the temple about white-robed women.  
 His own under passage: no answer left  
 Behind. His face: perhaps the first  
 Of the gathering of the white-robed women  
 Around him: and the first



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the *Frigidus*,\* or Cold River. This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Adriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill: the spirit of Arrogantes would have disdained a pardon; his gulf extinguished the hope of a negotiation; and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge, by the chastisement of the assassin of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the emperor of the East immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, assigned the post in honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish, that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conspirators. Ten thousand of those auxiliaries, and Baurinus, general of the Hérules, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood: the Goths maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate night, without sleep, without provisions, and without

\* The *Frigidus*, a small, though numerous, stream in the country of Gortia, now called the Vipera, falls into the Sava, or Danube, above Aquilida, some miles from the Adriatic. See *Travels in Agypt and Modern Egypt*, and the *Basin d'Europe de Chénouet*, tome iv. p. 289.

\* Claudius's war is intelligible; the snow was fresh and the cold very abundant; and the Goths must have been furnished with weapons, if the emperor had not been dealing with blood.

hopes;<sup>1</sup> except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Augustus secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the prize of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this sensible reinforcement: and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust, either the justice, or the success, of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest,<sup>2</sup> such as is often felt

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret affirms, that St. John, and St. Philip, appeared to the soldiers, exhorting, exhortant, as he is called, &c. This is an old tradition of apostolic prophecy, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, and in the Crusades.

<sup>2</sup> To prosper, *gratia Aquila de monte promissa*

*Quasi divina milia, revolutaque tela*

*Veniunt in sortem, et turbine rapidi hauriant.*

*Q. plurimum ducunt Dux, cui laudis ab arce*

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among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The array of Theodosius was shattered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the army, discoloured their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skillfully improved: the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls: and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive: and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominions of the world, was reduced to employ the mercy of the conqueror: and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced, that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and

*Arbogastes hinc inde per Alpes, Alpes,  
Et castris castrisq; ab hostibus exit.*

These famous lines of Claudian (l. 13. l. 14. l. 15. l. 16. l. 17. l. 18. l. 19. l. 20. l. 21. l. 22. l. 23. l. 24. l. 25. l. 26. l. 27. l. 28. l. 29. l. 30. l. 31. l. 32. l. 33. l. 34. l. 35. l. 36. l. 37. l. 38. l. 39. l. 40. l. 41. l. 42. l. 43. l. 44. l. 45. l. 46. l. 47. l. 48. l. 49. l. 50. l. 51. l. 52. l. 53. l. 54. l. 55. l. 56. l. 57. l. 58. l. 59. l. 60. l. 61. l. 62. l. 63. l. 64. l. 65. l. 66. l. 67. l. 68. l. 69. l. 70. l. 71. l. 72. l. 73. l. 74. l. 75. l. 76. l. 77. l. 78. l. 79. l. 80. l. 81. l. 82. l. 83. l. 84. l. 85. l. 86. l. 87. l. 88. l. 89. l. 90. l. 91. l. 92. l. 93. l. 94. l. 95. l. 96. l. 97. l. 98. l. 99. l. 100. l. 101. l. 102. l. 103. l. 104. l. 105. l. 106. l. 107. l. 108. l. 109. l. 110. l. 111. l. 112. l. 113. l. 114. l. 115. l. 116. l. 117. l. 118. l. 119. l. 120. l. 121. l. 122. l. 123. l. 124. l. 125. l. 126. l. 127. l. 128. l. 129. l. 130. l. 131. l. 132. l. 133. l. 134. l. 135. l. 136. l. 137. l. 138. l. 139. l. 140. l. 141. l. 142. l. 143. l. 144. 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turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the West. These provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant; whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous languages. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church; and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan.\*

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius, was universally acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His

Death of  
Theodo-  
sius.  
A. D. 395.  
Jan. 17.

\* The events of this civil war are gathered from Ausonius, poem. II. apud M., p. 1277y; Prudentius, the VII. *Against* c. 28-34y Augustin, the *City of God*, lib. vi. 20y 21y 22y; O. vii. c. 30y Jerome, II. 46y c. 24y Theodoret, II. c. 24y Sozomen, II. vi. p. 271, 272y Christian, the III. *Const. Hist.* 45-108, in 12 *Const. Hist.* 24-117, and the *Chronicon* published by Scaliger.

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death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease.\* The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the eastern and western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war;† but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the Circus:

\* This disease, described by Lucian II. c. 18. as the longest of wars, is represented by Palladius, c. 1. c. 43. as the effect of diet and intemperance; for which Plinius calls him an ignorant man, *insipientem*, *libertin.* p. 426.

† Zosimus supposes, that the boy Arcadius accompanied his father, *libert.* p. 195. Yet the genuine Augustan medals seem to shew that Arcadius would seldom or a contemporary poet, with almost) describe the emperor's return, and the journey of Honorius, after the victory, *Christiani in Hist. Eccl.* 16-197.

and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort, which he made, to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the evening night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated, with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor, which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reign of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been dissimulated: the act of cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects: he boldly asserts, that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign: that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life: and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that de-

*Corruption  
of the  
times.*



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generate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of flesh and appetite.' The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury, and degeneration of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers, who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the observation cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair, which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains

of a patrimony, which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a dispossessed, or a stranger, may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and cities, had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions: and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour, from the foundation of the city, to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline, and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service: they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore: and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable pike, which had subdu'd the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field: condemned to suffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight: and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use,

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The history  
try by  
which they  
are known

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of defensive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The inveterate soldiers abandoned their own, and the public defence; and their penitillanious indulgence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.\*

\* Vegetius, de Re Militari, l. i. c. lii. The series of exemptions which he marks, compel us to believe, that the army, to whom he addresses his book, is the last and most degenerate of the Valentinians.



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*Final destruction of paganism—Introduction of the worship of saints and relics, among the Christians.*

THE ruin of paganism in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may, therefore, deserve to be considered, as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian: nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence, which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial penitents. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion, against the subjects of the empire, who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities, and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of

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The destruction of the pagan religion, A. D. 392.



SACRIFICES was derived from these numbers) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.\* Seven EPURNS prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three PRÆNSES of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The KING of the SACRIFICERS represented the person of Numa, and of his successors, in the religious functions, which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the SALTARS, the LITURNICI, &c. practised such rites as might excite a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority, which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the councils of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of

[illegible]



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the seat of empire. But the dignity of this sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands, and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which literally supported the splendour of the priesthood, and all the expences of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of arms, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the seats of Cicero\* and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests, who composed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns, which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened,

\* Cicero himself, *lud. Maxim.* l. 2. *capit. 26.* is universally test. Frontin. l. 2. *capit. 14.* mentions, that the sepulchre is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is silent as to the pontiffs of Cæsar. *l. 16.* *capit. 14.* and the office of Pontifex might be assumed from Treveræ and Pontifex.

he sternly rejected those profane symbols;<sup>1</sup> applied to the service of the state, or of the church, the revenues of the priests or vestalst; abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions, and habits, of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple, in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory;<sup>2</sup> a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her out-stretched hand.<sup>3</sup> The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess, to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.<sup>4</sup> The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.<sup>5</sup> But the emperor yet

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<sup>1</sup> *Maximian*, l. iv. p. 748, 826. I have supposed the statue put about *Pompey* and *Marcellus*.

<sup>2</sup> The statue was introduced from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by *Cicero*, and decorated by *Augustus* with the spoils of *Vercina*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fredericus II.* is said to have a copy of the said statue of *Victory*; but the marble master will derive more satisfaction from *Montfaucon's Abbaye*, than I. p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> See *Maximian*, in *Augustin*, l. xix. and the *Collection of Bury's Paganism*.

<sup>5</sup> These facts are mutually allowed by the two adversaries, *Gratian* and *Ambrose*.

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spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome the decency of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

Persons of  
the senate  
for the city  
of Rome, A. D.  
384.

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;<sup>2</sup> and it was only by their absence, that they could express their dissent from the legal, though profane, acts of a pagan majority. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,<sup>3</sup> to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,<sup>4</sup> a wealthy and

<sup>1</sup> The *Agostus Epist.* more sparing than Constantine, does not bid new Christian altars to be raised among the statues of the gods. *Agostus. Epist.* lib. x. epist. 108, p. 913. declares the public temples of Rome, which eminently offended the eyes, the ears, and the morals of the faithful.

<sup>2</sup> *Augustus* repeatedly asserts, in various places, an extreme scarcity. (*Augustus Works*, vol. ii. p. 177.) that the Christians had a majority in the senate.

<sup>3</sup> The first A. D. 381 to Gratian, who refused their address. The second A. D. 384 to Valentinian, when our poet was dejected by Symmachus and Ambrose. The third A. D. 386 to Theodosius, and the fourth A. D. 391 to Valentinian. *Augustus. Orations* (Treatises, vol. ii. p. 257-275. &c.) represents the whole transaction.

<sup>4</sup> Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and ecclesiastical honours, represented the senate under the two characters of *Patronus* and *Senator*.



noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and prefect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.\* The orator, whose petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavours to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of Victory; he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expence, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible

Museus, and Flavius Sosipater. See the printed inscription at the head of his works.

\* As it may not, says Pindemonte, (de Symmacho, l. 1. 1789,) should dig in the earth with its instruments of gold and ivory. Even saints, and solemn priests, treat this apostasy with respect and awe.

CHAP. *series* of the universe eludes the inquiry of man.  
 XXVIII. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be  
 permitted to guide; and every nation seems to  
 consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful  
 attachment to those rights, and opinions, which  
 have received the sanction of ages. If these ages  
 have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if  
 the devout people have frequently obtained the  
 blessings which they have solicited at the altars  
 of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to  
 persist in the same salutary practice; and not to  
 risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash  
 innovations. The test of antiquity and success  
 was applied with singular advantage to the reli-  
 gion of Numa; and Rhea herself, the celestial  
 genius that presided over the fates of the city, is  
 introduced by the orator to plead her own cause  
 before the tribunal of the emperors. — Most ex-  
 cellent princes," says the venerable matron,  
 "fathers of your country! pity and respect my  
 "age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninter-  
 "rupted course of piety. Since I do not repent,  
 "permit me to continue in the practice of my  
 "ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me  
 "to enjoy my domestic institutions. This reli-  
 "gion has reduced the world under my laws.  
 "These rites have repelled Hannibal from the  
 "city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were  
 "my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable dis-  
 "grace? I am ignorant of the new system, that  
 "I am required to adopt; but I am well assured,  
 "that the correction of old age is always an

"ungrateful and ignominious office."<sup>4</sup> The CHAP. fears of the people supplied what the discretion XXXIII. of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities, which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire, were unanimously imputed, by the pagans, to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine.

But the hopes of Symmachius were repeatedly Conversion of Rome, A. D. 380, &c. baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the emperors against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose condescends to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories, which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perili-

<sup>4</sup> See the fifty-fourth epistle of the fourth book of Symmachius. In this firm and dignified style of reasoning, he instructs the younger Pliny; whose work, with several epistles suggested, by his father, he quotes as *causæ* (Epistolæ, Sæculari, l. 7, v. 25). But the homogeneity of Symmachius requires all terms Latin, without French, and even a Latin phrase. For *causæ*, and *causæ* incidents, are to be treated, like any various correspondence.



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tion.\* Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory: but the same arguments felt, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.† In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches

\* See *Andronicus*, from the year 400, year p. 423-425. The former of these speeches is a short oration; the latter is a formal reply to the petition in behalf of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius; who composed his two books against Symmachus, *l. 1. l. 2.*, where that senator was still alive. It is well known enough, that Montesquieu (*Considerations*, *l. 2. c. 12*, tom. *iii.* p. 467) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus; and we are haunted with dreaming on the more remote and indirect contributions of Theophrastus, St. Augustine, and Basilian.

\* See *Profectus*, in Symmachus, *l. 1. l. 1.*, *l. 2. l. 1.* The Christian agrees with the pagan Theophrastus, *l. 1. c. 12*, p. 205, in placing this visit of Theodosius after the second civil war, against the latter emperor Tyrrastus, *l. 1. c. 41*. But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.\* The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed, either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children,† who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the East. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and “the  
“ luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly  
“ of Cato, (such are the high-flown expressions  
“ of Prodentius,) were impatient to strip them-  
“ selves of their pontifical garment; to cast the  
“ skin of the old serpent; to assume the snowy

\* *Prudentius*, after proving that the cause of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say, 1039, &c.

*Adoptis quous plures scholasticæ mores ferunt.*

*Decemque infans Jovis pulcherrima, et omnes*

*Idemque iugis purgati in urbe legationi*

*Quæ, cuncti equagæ sententia Principis, omnes*

*Albanæ, cum polline, tum cunctis, frequentatæ ferunt.*

*Lactantius* ascribes to the emperor letters to his household, which few of them are said to possess.

† *Idem* speaks of the pious *Albanæ*, who was interwoven with such a believing family of children and grandchildren, as would have been sufficient to convert her father himself; see *Prudentius* 1046-776, poem 1, ed. *Lactantius*, p. 241.





gorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety, of the republic; he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of Heaven, but which must seem rash and unbecomable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription: the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the East, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith.\* He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims, every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the

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*Value of prohibiting sacrifices.* Some partial order may have been issued by the eastern emperor; but the chief and general plan is now established by the edicts of the Code, and the evidence of established custom.

\* See his laws in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. §§. 1-81.

† Hæver's writings are not accompanied with any specimen of extrinsic law. Pothier, Antiquit. Hæver. l. 4. p. 15. 16. The Theodosius, who produced the *lex Theodosiana*, conducted with the Goths; and the *Recessus*, (Pothier de Institution. l. 4. 27.)

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general practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation, of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the pretorian prefect of the East, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the West; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to consecrate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army.\* Here the desolation might have stopped: and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture: and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufac-

\* Zosimus, l. iv. p. 243, 248. Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. *Idem* in *Epist. Presbyt. Augustini* l. ii. c. 27, *apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 399*, N. 12. *Idem* *apud* *Yongliu*, p. 101. *Idem* in *prol.* that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.

tures, or places of public assembly: and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods: and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne,\* increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition:† but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours,‡ marched, at the head of his faithful monks, to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese: and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported

\* *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 8, 10. There is every reason to believe, that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to see destroyed, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins, (*Liberius pro Templo*, p. 76, 77, and *Guadagnoli's notes*, p. 29).

† See this curious notice of *Liberius pro Templo*, promulgated, or rather composed, about the year 430. I have corrected, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's version and remarks, (*Notæ ad Theodosium*, vol. iv. p. 124-125).

‡ See the *Life of Martin*, by Adolphus Serenus, &c. &c. The saint once ordered (so Don Quixote might have done) to harness himself for an idolatrous procession, and immediately committed a miracle.



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by the aid of miraculous powers, or of magical weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus,\* as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted, by the skill and solidity, with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence; on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was supported by sixteen mighty columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones, of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Gloried with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness: a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly,

\* *Episcopus Augustus et alius. Ep. ad Theodoret. l. ii. c. 212.*  
*Ep. 1000. Hieron. Ep. ad Paulin. Ep. ad Marcellin.*

placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts:—But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rioters; and the signal of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed with tumultuous fury, from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the pagans; and some of them might deserve the reprimand of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expence of the people, who foolishly admired their lattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial paleness.<sup>1</sup> A small number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church;<sup>2</sup> and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.<sup>3</sup> But in

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius, *de Templo*, p. 10-12. He speaks of those black-painted men, the Christian monks, who are more than elephants. Five Cybells! they are temperate animals.

<sup>2</sup> *Perizon. Aegyptus*, l. ii. c. 78, *quod Hieronymus*; *Mem. Euseb.* A. D. 396, p. 28, 40. The temple had been about seven years, and the name to it was contiguous with Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> *Denique, Roma Antiqua et Nova*, l. vi. c. 11, p. 468. This consecration was performed by Pope Sixtus IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

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almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority, and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria.<sup>m</sup> Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.\* The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.<sup>n</sup> The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their

<sup>m</sup> Eusebius composed a recent and accurate history, (Chron., in Script. Eccl., tom. i. p. 700.) which had furnished materials to Theophrastus, (l. v. p. 114.) Theophrastus, (l. v. p. 114.) and Rufinus, (l. ii. p. 114.) To the last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

<sup>n</sup> Gerard Vossius (Opus., tom. i. p. 80.) and de Meibomius, (l. i. p. 29.) seem to support the ancient notion of the goddess; that the pharaoh Joseph was raised in Egypt, at the hill Syde, and the god Osiris.

<sup>o</sup> Origen ad Rom. c. 10. c. 11. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100. c. 101. c. 102. c. 103. c. 104. c. 105. c. 106. c. 107. c. 108. c. 109. c. 110. c. 111. c. 112. c. 113. c. 114. c. 115. c. 116. c. 117. c. 118. c. 119. c. 120. c. 121. c. 122. c. 123. c. 124. c. 125. c. 126. c. 127. c. 128. c. 129. c. 130. c. 131. c. 132. c. 133. c. 134. c. 135. c. 136. c. 137. c. 138. c. 139. c. 140. c. 141. c. 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892. c. 893. c. 894. c. 895. c. 896. c. 897. c. 898. c. 899. c. 900. c. 901. c. 902. c. 903. c. 904. c. 905. c. 906. c. 907. c. 908. c. 909. c. 910. c. 911. c. 912. c. 913. c. 914. c. 915. c. 916. c. 917. c. 918. c. 919. c. 920. c. 921. c. 922. c. 923. c. 924. c. 925. c. 926. c. 927. c. 928. c. 929. c. 930. c. 931. c. 932. c. 933. c. 934. c. 935. c. 936. c. 937. c. 938. c. 939. c. 940. c. 941. c. 942. c. 943. c. 944. c. 945. c. 946. c. 947. c. 948. c. 949. c. 950. c. 951. c. 952. c. 953. c. 954. c. 955. c. 956. c. 957. c. 958. c. 959. c. 960. c. 961. c. 962. c. 963. c. 964. c. 965. c. 966. c. 967. c. 968. c. 969. c. 970. c. 971. c. 972. c. 973. c. 974. c. 975. c. 976. c. 977. c. 978. c. 979. c. 980. c. 981. c. 982. c. 983. c. 984. c. 985. c. 986. c. 987. c. 988. c. 989. c. 990. c. 991. c. 992. c. 993. c. 994. c. 995. c. 996. c. 997. c. 998. c. 999. c. 1000. c. 1001. c. 1002. c. 1003. c. 1004. c. 1005. c. 1006. c. 1007. c. 1008. c. 1009. c. 1010. c. 1011. c. 1012. c. 1013. c. 1014. c. 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1126. c. 1127. c. 1128. c. 1129. c. 1130. c. 1131. c. 1132. c. 1133. c. 1134. c. 1135. c. 1136. c. 1137. c. 1138. c. 1139. c. 1140. c. 1141. c. 1142. c. 1143. c. 1144. c. 1145. c. 1146. c. 1147. c. 1148. c. 1149. c. 1150. c. 1151. c. 1152. c. 1153. c. 1154. c. 1155. c. 1156. c. 1157. c. 1158. c. 1159. c. 1160. c. 1161. c. 1162. c. 1163. c. 1164. c. 1165. c. 1166. c. 1167. c. 1168. c. 1169. c. 1170. c. 1171. c. 1172. c. 1173. c. 1174. c. 1175. c. 1176. c. 1177. c. 1178. c. 1179. c. 1180. c. 1181. c. 1182. c. 1183. c. 1184. c. 1185. c. 1186. c. 1187. c. 1188. c. 1189. c. 1190. c. 1191. c. 1192. c. 1193. c. 1194. c. 1195. c. 1196. c. 1197. c. 1198. c. 1199. c. 1200. c. 1201. c. 1202. c. 1203. c. 1204. c. 1205. c. 1206. c. 1207. c. 1208. c. 1209. c. 1210. c. 1211. c. 1212. c. 1213. c. 1214. c. 1215. c. 1216. c. 1217. c. 1218. c. 1219. c. 1220. c. 1221. c. 1222. c. 1223. c. 1224. c. 1225. c. 1226. c. 1227. c. 1228. c. 1229. c. 1230. c. 1231. c. 1232. c. 1233. c. 1234. c. 1235. c. 1236. c. 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1348. c. 1349. c. 1350. c. 1351. c. 1352. c. 1353. c. 1354. c. 1355. c. 1356. c. 1357. c. 1358. c. 1359. c. 1360. c. 1361. c. 1362. c. 1363. c. 1364. c. 1365. c. 1366. c. 1367. c. 1368. c. 1369. c. 1370. c. 1371. c. 1372. c. 1373. c. 1374. c. 1375. c. 1376. c. 1377. c. 1378. c. 1379. c. 1380. c. 1381. c. 1382. c. 1383. c. 1384. c. 1385. c. 1386. c. 1387. c. 1388. c. 1389. c. 1390. c. 1391. c. 1392. c. 1393. c. 1394. c. 1395. c. 1396. c. 1397. c. 1398. c. 1399. c. 1400. c. 1401. c. 1402. c. 1403. c. 1404. c. 1405. c. 1406. c. 1407. c. 1408. c. 1409. c. 1410. c. 1411. c. 1412. c. 1413. c. 1414. c. 1415. c. 1416. c. 1417. c. 1418. c. 1419. c. 1420. c. 1421. c. 1422. c. 1423. c. 1424. c. 1425. c. 1426. c. 1427. c. 1428. c. 1429. c. 1430. c. 1431. c. 1432. c. 1433. c. 1434. c. 1435. c. 1436. c. 1437. c. 1438. c. 1439. c. 1440. c. 1441. c. 1442. c. 1443. c. 1444. c. 1445. c. 1446. c. 1447. c. 1448. c. 1449. c. 1450. c. 1451. c. 1452. c. 1453. c. 1454. c. 1455. c. 1456. c. 1457. c. 1458. c. 1459. c. 1460. c. 1461. c. 1462. c. 1463. c. 1464. c. 1465. c. 1466. c. 1467. c. 1468. c. 1469. c. 1470. c. 1471. c. 1472. c. 1473. c. 1474. c. 1475. c. 1476. c. 1477. c. 1478. c. 1479. c. 1480. c. 1481. c. 1482. c. 1483. c. 1484. c. 1485. c. 1486. c. 1487. c. 1488. c. 1489. c. 1490. c. 1491. c. 1492. c. 1493. c. 1494. c. 1495. c. 1496. c. 1497. c. 1498. c. 1499. c. 1500. c. 1501. c. 1502. c. 1503. c. 1504. c. 1505. c. 1506. c. 1507. c. 1508. c. 1509. c. 1510. c. 1511. c. 1512. c. 1513. c. 1514. c. 1515. c. 1516. c. 1517. c. 1518. c. 1519. c. 1520. c. 1521. c. 1522. c. 1523. c. 1524. c. 1525. c. 1526. c. 1527. c. 1528. c. 1529. c. 1530. c. 1531. c. 1532. c. 1533. c. 1534. c. 1535. c. 1536. c. 1537. c. 1538. c. 1539. c. 1540. c. 1541. c. 1542. c. 1543. c. 1544. c. 1545. c. 1546. c. 1547. c. 1548. c. 1549. c. 1550. c. 1551. c. 1552. c. 1553. c. 1554. c. 1555. c. 1556. c. 1557. c. 1558. c. 1559. c. 1560. c. 1561. c. 1562. c. 1563. c. 1564. c. 1565. c. 1566. c. 1567. c. 1568. c. 1569. c. 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cities.<sup>3</sup> But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,<sup>4</sup> the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple,<sup>5</sup> which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls; and exquisite statues, displayed the triumphs of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes.<sup>6</sup> After the edicts of Theodosius

<sup>3</sup> *Memoriae, Saturnal.* l. ii. c. 1. Such a story had exclusively given it its foreign extraction.

<sup>4</sup> At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The prevalence which the queen assumed, they seem to belong her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious doctrine. (*Diogen. Laert.* lib. ii. l. 1, p. 71, edit. Wesseling.) And the same union is observed in Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris, where he identifies with Serapis.

<sup>5</sup> *Ammonius, (trad. H.) The Egyptian before Nubia,* (p. 8, in *Hugues's Geography.* Nubia. tom. viii. and *Belzoni, &c.* c. 12), exhibits the Serapeum, as one of the wonders of the world.

<sup>6</sup> See *Memoriae de Paganis et Inscriptiones*, tom. ii. p. 387, 412.

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*Continued.*

had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves: as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the foundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

In that  
history.  
vol.  
A. D. 399.

At that time, the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus, the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The victories of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the phlo-

The old library of the Ptolemies was finally consumed in Caesar's Alexandrian war. More Antony gave the whole collection of Ptolemies (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra. In the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> *Libraries from Temples*, p. 21] inadvertently provided the Christian empire with a new building, mosque.

<sup>2</sup> We may choose between the date of Theophilus, A. D. 399, or that of Theophrastus, A. D. 399. Theophilus (18th c. Emp. vol. 1, p. 230, 231) gives the former, and Pagi the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Theophilus, *Mem. Egypt.* vol. 1, p. 411-412. The antiquarian attitude of Theophilus, a saint, as the friend of Jesus; a deadly enemy of the empire of Theophrastus; promises a sort of impartiality; yet even the study, the balance is justly inclined against him.

sophor Olympius,\* who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. The pagans fortified themselves in the temple; or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies; and a resolute defence; and by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the least consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians set up a shout of joy and exultation; whilst the unfortunate pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis; without any other difficulties, than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations, and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian

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XXVII.  
*continued*

\* *Constantin's Oration* (Tome II. p. 411) has changed a few words; and *Justin's* (from *Justin*, or rather *Justin's* *Memories*, which may be the *decent* and *strict* *Oration*, and in his *light* of *justice*, has also changed.



CHAP. *martyrs.* The valuable library of Alexandria  
 XXVIII. was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years  
 afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves  
 excited the regret and indignation of every spec-  
 tator, whose mind was not totally darkened by  
 religious prejudice.\* The compositions of an-  
 cient genius, so many of which have irretrievably  
 perished, might surely have been excepted from  
 the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and in-  
 struction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal  
 or the avarice of the archbishop,† might have  
 been satiated with the rich spoils, which were the  
 reward of his victory. While the images and  
 vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and  
 those of a less valuable metal were contempt-  
 uously broken; and cast into the streets. Theo-  
 philus laboured to expose the frauds and vices  
 of the ministers of the idols: their dexterity in  
 the management of the loadstone: their secret  
 methods of introducing an human actor into a  
 hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the  
 confidence of devout husbands, and unsuspecting  
 females.‡ Charges like these may seem to deserve

\* Non solumus erantque librum, quibus doctores, exarant ut a  
 multis voluminibus, vestitis temporibus memorem. Orosius l. vi. c.  
 li. p. 431, edit. Harlesm. Though a Latin, and a controversial  
 writer, Orosius seems to speak.

† Exemplum in the lives of Apollonia and Eulalia, illustrates the in-  
 credulous rage of Theophilus. Tillamont's Mon. Ecclia. tom. iii.  
 p. 433, quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which represents the  
 priestess with the idolatrous worship of gold, the secret secret.

‡ Rufinus names the priestess of Ishtar, who, in the character of the  
 goddess, appeared with many golden robes of mystery; and

some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story, than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who bunched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre, which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster, which he held in his right hand; the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly

On 54 days of line-off, 10 minutes of transport, when he could not distinguish the sound of his voice. The mathematics and computer sciences at Michigan, and Math, Electronic College, Berkeley, and the universities of Michigan, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, and the U. S. with Bill (Hawthorne), and prove that such sciences should have been associated with science.

<sup>1</sup> When the concept of *Minipala* in *Minipaltona* (Gunn, 1967: 1) and the description of *Minipala* (Sargant, 1963: 104) is made more precise and self-evident.

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LXVIII.  
CONTINUED.

return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the contest.\* He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows; the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burnt in the amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelary deity. The popular modes of religion, that propose any visible and material objects of worship, have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind; but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is scarcely possible, that, in every disposition of mind, he should preserve his im-

\* See below *Memories of the late, Philippe-Alexandre*

*Majors de l'art, et de son nom de l'art*

*Le plus illustre et le plus célèbre, et le plus célèbre*

*Chap. II, 1879. " In it, says, said Augustus in a vision of 1811. " at whose house, he says, that the man, who gave the first blow to " the golden statue of Serapis, was instantly deprived of his eyes, and " of his life? " I was that man, and the above-mentioned account " and you now see the use of the legs of the golden." (Paris, 1811, 24.)*



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—————

placit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art, or nature: and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object, and the folly, of his superstitious attachment. After the fall of Memphis, some hopes were still entertained by the pagans, that the Nile would refine his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt: and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge: till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.\*

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed: but the ingenious superstition of the pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had

The passage  
supposed to  
be interpolated,  
A. D. 380.

\* The History of the Inundation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to derision.

† *Strabon.* l. vii. c. 25. I have copied the measure. The usual measure of the inundation, and consequently of the water, has not been well ascertained since the time of Herodotus. See *Forster, de Nil. Mæd.* (Additiones des Inscriptions, tom. viii. p. 234-235. *Gosselin's Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. viii. p. 215. The Egyptian cubit is about two-thirds part of the English measure.



the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any city, or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless virgin." The act of sacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high treason against the state; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; human sacrifices, gambles, frankincense, and libations of wine, are especially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies, subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house, or estate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the connivance of the sacred enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of



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Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world.\*

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Christianity had been proscribed, as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust persecutions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were, in some measure, countenanced by the inseparable notions, and rapid expositions, of the catholic church. But the same reasons of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the gospel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness, as well as folly, of paganism; the light of reason and of faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the pagans been animated by the undimmed zeal, which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their

\* Such a change should not be lightly made; but Clarendon seems to be justified by the authority of St. Augustine, who thus addressed the Donatists:—"Quia ecclesiam spiritus sanctus non facit, sed congregat: et ecclesia ubi aduersus hereticos preloquitur, non est. Et ideo, licet sit et possit agere, non facit nisi talis quodam imperante spiritu regatur: cum dicitur: Spiritus sanctus, &c. regat. Et sic, (Hic. August. Church, tom. viii. p. 177,) who adds some judicious reflections on the conduct of the successive Christians.

lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox persecutors, were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian code.<sup>1</sup> Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrates, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion: and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.<sup>2</sup> If the pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted

<sup>1</sup> *Origenes*, l. vii. c. 28, p. 221. *Augustine*, *Retractions*, de *Palatio*, c. 1, apud *Labbe*, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. i. c. 1, p. 420, teaches their conversion. "Quia verum, superstitiosius est se sacrificia deum illi, quam legem dei profligatorum et non recipere."

<sup>2</sup> *Epiphanius* (pro *Troquo*, p. 17, 18) mentions, without comment, the continued conformity, and as it is sacramental play, of these hypocrites.

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spirit to resist: and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition\* of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The pagans of the West, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostasy: that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field, against the inviolable standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of heaven by the extinction of idolatry.

and finally  
exterminated  
ad. A. D.  
390-425,  
&c.

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death:

\* Libanius concludes his apology for Julian, by observing, in the emperor's name, that unless he expressly warranted the destruction of the temples, and the suppression of sacrifices, the nations, who were his subjects, would attack themselves and the laws.

\* *Præfatus* in V. M. Ambrosii, 4. 16. *Augustus de Civitate Dei*, l. 1. c. 2. *Theodoret*, 4. 11. c. 23.



and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign.<sup>8</sup> The possession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries, who exultingly received the fables of Odin, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the gospel. The pulpit, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodorus distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the consular dignity, which he bestowed on Symmachus;<sup>9</sup> and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;<sup>10</sup> and the two eloquent antagonists of paganism were never required either to change, or to dissemble, their religious opinions. The pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the

<sup>1</sup> Kilduff is misquoting the name of a fermenting agent, which Thompson might want (see Thompson, p. 27) a good yeast, and a sharp low yeast (read: a sharp pollen) which have better fall quality.

1. *Designs for the treatment of wastewater*

24. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 1033-1036.

1875

Very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. M. Smith

1993

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

It follows from this that it is not the case that the presence of a person in a room is a necessary condition for the presence of a person in a room. This is because the presence of a person in a room is a necessary condition for the presence of a person in a room.

CHÆR. historical and philosophical remains of Zeno and  
 ZENO. Xenonius,\* and the fanatic teachers of the school  
 of Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and  
 contain the sharpest invectives, against the senti-  
 ments and conduct of their victorious adversaries.  
 If these unbecoming libels were publicly known, we  
 must applaud the good sense of the Christian  
 princes, who viewed, with a smile of contempt,  
 the last struggles of superstition and despair.  
 But the imperial laws, which prohibited the sacri-  
 fices and ceremonies of paganism, were rigidly  
 executed; and every hour contributed to destroy  
 the influence of a religion, which was supported  
 by custom, rather than by argument. The de-  
 votion of the poet, or the philosopher, may be  
 secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and  
 study; but the exercise of public worship appears  
 to be the only solid foundation of the religious  
 sentiments of the people, which derive their force  
 from imitation and habit. The interruption of  
 that public exercise may consummate, in the  
 period of a few years, the important work of a  
 national revolution. The memory of theological  
 opinions cannot long be preserved, without the  
 artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of

\* Zosimus, who styles himself *Quæstor* and *Examinator* of the Treas-  
 ury, reviles, with partial and dishonest bigotry, the Christian princes,  
 and even the fathers of his country. His work must have been  
 privately circulated, since it escaped the censure of the emperor.  
 A fragment joins to Fragment, U. 22. a. 11. 22, who lived be-  
 fore the end of the sixth century.

\* Yet the journal of *Alfred* complains, that the Christians would not  
 show faith or piety, with freedom, the city of God: nor did the  
*Angli* (v. 28) show the change.

books. The ignorant vulgar, whose minds (HAB.  
XXVIII.)  
are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors  
of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their  
superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning  
deities of the age: and will insensibly imbibe an  
ardent zeal for the support and propagation of  
the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first  
compelled them to accept. The generation that  
arose in the world after the promulgation of the  
imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of  
the catholic church: and so rapid, yet so gentle,  
was the fall of paganism, that only twenty-eight  
years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and  
minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye  
of the legislator.\*

The ruin of the pagan religion is described by  
the ecclesiasts, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy,  
which covered the earth with darkness, and re-  
stored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night.  
They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that  
the temples were converted into sepulchres; and  
that the holy places, which had been adorned by  
the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by  
the relics of Christian martyrs. "The monks"  
in race of filthy animals, to whom European is

The worship of the  
Christian  
martyrs.

\* The Monks of Spain, who usually professed the Mahometan religion, during a century, under the tyranny of the Visigoths, possessed the Kharra, with the peculiar use of the death-sentence. But the various and bloody story of their apostasy is tedious; (Mansi's tables vol. I. p. 1-179.)

\* Eusebius has reported, *quædam præcellens etia celsitudo, hoc. Eccl. Theodosius I. vol. II. c. 1, pag. 81. A. D. 423.* The emperor Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been wisely left promissory.



CHAP. XXVII.  
 TEMPLES TO THE GODS OF ROME.  
 templed to relieve the name of man) " are the  
 " authors of the new worship, which, in the place  
 " of those deities, who are conceived by the  
 " understanding, has substituted the meanest and  
 " most contemptible slaves. The limbs, salted  
 " and pickled, of those infamous malefactors,  
 " who, for the multitude of their crimes, have  
 " suffered a just and ignominious death; their  
 " bodies, still marked by the impression of the  
 " lash, and the scars of those tortures which  
 " were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate;  
 " such" (continues Ruanon) " are the gods  
 " which the earth produces in our days: such  
 " are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our  
 " prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs  
 " are now consecrated as the objects of the ve-  
 " neration of the people." Without approving  
 the malice, it is natural enough to share the sur-  
 prise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution,  
 which raised those obscure victims of the laws of  
 Rome, to the rank of celestial and invisible pro-  
 tectors of the Roman empire. The grateful  
 respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the  
 faith, was exalted, by loss and victory, into religi-  
 ous adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints  
 and prophets were deservedly associated to the lu-  
 minaries of the martyrs. One hundred and sixty years  
 after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul,  
 the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguisht  
 by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those

\* *See Ruanon, in the life of the sophist Theophrastus, in that of Seneca, and in the life of the poet Lucan, and in the life of the philosopher Epicurus, and in the life of the philosopher Zeno.*

spiritual heroes.' In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman; and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the multitudes sacrifice.' The new capital of the eastern world, unable to prohibit any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependant provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves, from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.' About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the

27-5-55  
3 1/2 0/111

<sup>1</sup> Table 1 of the French Hist. France, v. 6, C. Edg. & Henry great (1070), who died in the year of aphyreosis, (A. D. 1070), some early witness of the aphyreosis disease.

<sup>a</sup> Data presented are from the Survey of Income, Training, and Education (SITE) study conducted by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). The SITE study was designed to provide information on the health status of the population aged 18 years and older in the United States in 1970-71. The survey included information on the general health status of the respondent, the respondent's educational attainment, occupation, income, and other factors.

\* Many birds were abundant elsewhere\* you were destroyed  
humans, Paddy & Paul, especially the, and elsewhere  
other Dublin residents, as various species of birds, including some  
birds, etc. 6, where, Volume 2, 111.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal* 1100. He is 117½ inches across by those measurements, which was suggested by the anatomical evidence. The position of his ankles at Polina is described as an aspect from the story of Nihil, which *Russkaya Rossiya* (Saint Petersburg, 1891) states is Indian, and *Thames* is Greek to report. <sup>11</sup> Andrew was shipped to the spiritual Ministry of the Government, (Ivan, London, and he is 117½ inches, 100, 100).

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people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the pope, with the same joy and reverence which they would have shewn to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.\* The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmour of profane reason,† were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerom, something was still desired wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

General  
reflections.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of

\* Jerom *deus. lib. p. 122* properly describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

† The philosopher Vigenarius, the government of his age, strictly though justifiably, without the imputation of morose, cruel, selfishness, &c. he would Jerom compares him to the *Hydra*. *Colerus de Criticis*, &c. and considered him only as the regent of the multitude. *ibid. p. 124-125*. Whoever will pursue the controversy of St. Jerom and Vigenarius, and St. Augustine's account of the sedition of St. Basilian, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the fathers.



saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

FRAN.  
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continued

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones, stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legends; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, instead of those of a saint.\* A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud, and credulity, miserably extinguished the light of history, and of reason, in the Christian world.

I. Falsely  
used  
relics and  
names

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith

II. Super-  
stition

\* M. de Bellisle (Hist. des Monumens, tom. iv. p. 285) has applied a similar name to the place where the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr were deposited.

\* Martin of Tours (see his Life, c. 8, by Rufinus) severely reprimanded the monks for the sanctity of the dead men. "The relics of saints are to be revered; the discovery of a supposed relic is miraculous. Wealth of the holy men likely to happen more frequently."

CHAP.  
CIVIL

of the people had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Lucian,<sup>1</sup> a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Capthargumala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him, to the attire of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod: announced himself by the name of Gaunuliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abihus, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself, and his companions, from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation, and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery, were successively removed by new visions: and the ground

<sup>1</sup> Lucian correspond to Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Athanas, and published by Nicetas, (Grecul. Eccl. A. D. 415, 2<sup>o</sup> 1-44.) The Beneficent success of St. Augustine's good grace (or the end of the work) in Greece had two several copies, which were various readings. It is the character of a legend to be true and remarkable. The most remarkable parts of the legend are mentioned and referred by Tillemont, Oleg. Facile, tom. II. p. 81, 82, 83.

was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an immense multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, such as that of paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Capharganna; but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honour on Mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relics, a drop of blood,\* or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned *Augustin*,<sup>†</sup> whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the *City of God*, which the bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. *Augustin* solemnly declares, that

\* A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually deposited at Hippo, till he was superseded by St. Jovellinus. *Wasson's Hist. Constant. Vindict.* p. 229.

† *Augustin* composed the two last twenty books of *Confessions* but in the space of thirteen years. A. D. 412-426. (*Tillemont's Mem. Constant. Suppl.* p. 422, 423.) His learning is too often betrayed, and his penitence not his other his work; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, simplicity, and not unskillfully executed.



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.....

he had selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted, or forgotten; and Hippo had been less lavishly treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese.<sup>1</sup> If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints, of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables, and the errors, which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe, that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary, and established, laws of nature.

III. Res-  
ent of pro-  
pethian.

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the

<sup>1</sup> See *Gregorius de Valent. Hist. l. viii. c. 32*, and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Fructus, Bishop of Carthage. Vandalorum typis Florentiæ, Mart. Jan. Jussu, tom. viii. p. 146. See likewise a tract in Spanish proverbially "Whereas pro-  
" tends to have told all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep.\* It was evident, (without presuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity), that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by experience, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin.† The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their

\* BARNES on Saint Martin, p. 26-34) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they touch the sleep, or repose, of human souls, all the day of judgment. His summary extends p. 31, &c. the representation which seems later, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

† Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham, or in refrigeria, or else under the shade of God. See page 104 towards the end of the second volume printed. But JAMES HALL, II, p. 122) sternly rejects this blasphemy. Tu Deus heus pater? Tu quævis istiusmodi legibus, et iuribus ad istos præsti seruitus servituti, nec non tuum Dominum (sic) de quibus scriptum est, Dominum Agnum quiescentem iacet. In Agnus clemens, ergo, et bl., and even Agnus-quis, utique non credendum est. In tuum clemens et clemens tota vegetatio in istis, &c.

CHAP.  
XXVIII  
(continued)

faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind: they chose, with partial affection, the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial heart: yet the saints themselves could be persuaded to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches, who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power.\* Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey. The immediate, and almost instantaneous, effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the Christians, of the ample measure of favour and authority, which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God: and it seemed almost

\* Flcury, *Trésor des Villes Eucharistiques*, iii. p. 63.

\* At Blois, the cell of St. Bernard measured, at right angles, 440 feet; with the high-church, at some oblique distance, such as forming the crypts, along the church inside as stairs along the north side. See the original letter of Nicolas bishop of Meaux, (at volume 25, *Appendix*, de l'Ét. de la cell. and the judicial sentence of Boutey, *ibid.* iii. p. 245-246).



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superfluous to inquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, vaguely embraced such inferior objects of adoration, as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted; and the serenity of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.\*

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century,† Tertullian, or Lactantius,‡ had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some

IV. Introduction of  
pages of  
ceremonies.

\* Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. iv. p. 435) observes, that a polytheism, the natural fire and reflex of polytheism and thence.

† D'Aul. *Œuvres* (par lui-même) *Mémoires*, p. 154-155, frankly avows, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first 400 years in the state of fifth. The Cardinal du Perron begged for forty years more, which were indignantly given. Yet tender party would have found their account in this double bargain.

‡ The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. is so extremely pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the pagans, sometimes glance against the Jewish, ceremonies,

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XXVIII.  
MONASTICISM.

popular saint, or martyr;<sup>2</sup> they would have gazed with astonishment, and indignation, on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gawdy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities;

<sup>2</sup> Various the Marston seems the catholicon of history. "Veneranda illa in universis . . . quæ sunt constantia ecclesie." H. de Beaufort, *Hist. Consue. de Monachis*, tom. II. p. 108-109, a protestant, but a philosopher, has represented, with candour and learning, the introduction of Christian abbacy in the fourth and fifth centuries.

the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road: and if they returned, without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received: eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver: and various pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind: but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the catholic church imitated the profane model, which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation in

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continued

\* The resemblance of superstition, which could not be resisted, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Washington has cited this idea, which he derives, by rendering it too general and absolute (Hume's *Language*, vol. iv, p. 416, &c.)



CHAP. the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Con-  
XXVIII. stantine achieved, in less than a century, the  
final conquest of the Roman empire: but the  
victors themselves were intensely subdued by  
the arts of their vanquished rivals.\*

\* The institution of paganism is the subject of the *Madame's* 22.  
general letter from Rome. Washington's antipathetic and alleged views  
on ancient myth. pp. 129-130; the history of the new religion; and  
to point the antiquity of the Church in 1775.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Final division of the Roman empire between the sons of Theodosius—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius—Administration of Rufinus and Stilicho—Revolt and defeat of Gildo in Africa.*

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodosius; the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East, and of the West; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the state: the senators of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his luxurious life was spent in that peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Ethiopia. He

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Division of  
the empire  
between  
Arcadius  
and Honor-  
ius.  
A. D. 395,  
sec. 17.

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The younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain: and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were opposed, on one side, to the Calalonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial prefecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes; the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the East. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks: and the respective advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength, were fairly balanced and compensated, in this final and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father: the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a revolt election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather the names, of their sovereigns, beheld,



with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, CHAP.  
and the ministers who abused, the authority of  
XXIX.  
the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice\* had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul,† to advance his fortune in the capital of the East: the talent of bold and ready elocution‡ qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised, by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness, of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation;§

Character  
and sublimation  
of Rufinus,  
A. D. 395.  
1801.

\* Avarice, weakness of the public liberty, conversion to individual goods, Magesse recommends her, says Rufinus, and accuses him to death of something, &c. But there is no much difference between Constant's fury and that of Theod., as between the characters of Theod. and Rufinus.

† It is evident, by the account, that the Emp. sent him, p. 720. Although de Meaux is believed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Atrax, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a small village of Gascony, of Aquitaine, *Notice de l'Académie des Inscriptions* p. 199.

‡ Philostorgius, l. vi. c. 3. with Socrates's History, p. 440.

§ A picture of Rufinus is expressive of his profound dissimulation; *Indiscretions de Rufinus* see the story.

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his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the horrid massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasions of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminence of a rival, whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult, which it was incumbent on his dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.\* The sacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of prefect of the East, and of prefect of Constantinople, were filled by Tatian,†

\* *Historia*, l. iv. p. 272, 273.

† *Promotus*, who doubtless had killed Tatian and his son, is (iv. p. 272, 274), *accusatus* (this accusation) and even his testimony was disbelieved; the charges of *perjurium*, *avaritia*, *Cob.* Theodosius *nov. 15*, p. 280, *relegatus*.

and his son Proculus: whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the master of the offices. The two prefects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperor constituted a special commission; several judges were named to share the guilt and responsibility of injustice: but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the prefecture of the East, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event: his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances, and perfidious oaths, of the president, who pretended to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself: and the unhappy father was at last persuaded to retiral, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which

seems third of depressing the Cyren. The connection of Tatian with the Armenians, which he was prefect of Egypt, &c. D. 375, inclines Titinius to believe that he was guilty of some crime, either, the first and c. 4. 360. — *Man. Alex. tom. 2. p. 482.*



disappointed the clemency of the emperor.  
 Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son: the fatal cord was fastened round his own neck: but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile.<sup>1</sup> The punishment of the two prefects might, perhaps, be excused by the exceptional parts of their own conduct: the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unscrupulous nature of ambition. But he indulged a spirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia, from the rank of Roman provinces: stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the imperial government.<sup>2</sup> The new

<sup>1</sup> ——— *Juvénal, satiræ c. 10.*

*Aut patrem, aut filium spectare videtur.*

*That grandsire and son behold each other.*

*First tragedy, act 1.*

*In Dugès, p. 226.*

*The Acts of Eusebius (upon the admission of Constantine) and the various interpretations were against the fourth century. The first and, I think, with the help of Eusebius, by a string of St. Ambrose of Autun.*

<sup>2</sup> This name is not mentioned, and repeated, by Ammianus, 14. 12, 1264, in the *Thémistius Code*, 14. 12, 1264, 1265, 1266. The name, as it is mentioned by Eusebius, in *Acta*, 1. 1264, and *Constitutiones*, 1265, p. 1264, is probably false.

——— *Eximius alius*

*Eximius, et eximius, et eximius, et eximius.*

prefect of the East (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Clancendon, surnamed the Oak, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a stately church, consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers, and penance, of a regular society of monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the bishops of the eastern empire was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church, and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and audacious statesman.

The character of Theodorus imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the insolent slumber of a prince, still capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtue, which had

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 1111  
 1111  
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The script of *Papa and Tawana* was sold only 1 year after the story of *Thelma*.

[illegible]





unlucky candidate eagerly solicited, at the expence of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of some provincial government; the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the most liberal purchasers; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose punishment was profitable only to the prefect of the East, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity; and we might be tempted to inquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice, to accumulate those immense treasures, which he could not spend without folly, nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined, that he laboured for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil, and the august rank of empress of the East. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion, that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people, by the liberal distribution of those riches, which he had acquired with so much toil, and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach, and envy, of ill-gotten wealth; his dependants served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of

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A.D. 330.

Lucian proclaimed to the East, that the prefect, whose industry was much abated in the despatch of ordinary business, was active and indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the prefect Florentius, the oppressor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchase the friendship of Rufinus, and the high office of count of the East. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court, and of the times; disgraced his benefactor, by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration; and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult; and the prefect of the East resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred miles, from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and spread universal consternation among a people, ignorant of his design, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the East was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the tyrant, by the order, and in the presence, of their master, beat

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him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead: and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep, and silent, curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated, by the hope of accomplishing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the East.\*

But Rufinus soon experienced, that a prudent minister should constantly secure his royal captive by the strong, though invisible, chain of habit: and that the merit, and much more easily the favour, of the absent, are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the prefect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favourite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Armandus was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen, without his consent, for his bride: and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto,

He is accompanied by the mag-  
istrate of  
Antioch,  
A. D. 361.  
April 17.

—————Eutropius regit.

All the more violent & perfidious regiments remain  
Empire in ruin.

The mention of Claudius (in Rufinus, l. 1, 241) is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus, *l. v.* p. 294, 295.

\* Zosimus (l. iv. p. 113) praises the valour, prudence, and integrity of Bauto and Eutropius. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 272.



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a general of the Franks in the service of Rome; and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promachus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arsenius,\* eagerly listened to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister, who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happiness. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with false and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuchs and officers issued, in nuptial pomp, from the gates of the palace: bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the inestimable ornaments, of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with spectators; but, when it reached the house of the sons of Promachus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius. The secrecy, and success, with which

\* Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed thirty years or eight years in the deserts of Egypt. See Gibbon, *Decline & Fall*, tom. xiv. p. 474-475; and Henry, *History*, tom. v. p. 1, &c. : but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of St. Eudocimus.

\* This story Gibbon, l. v. p. 286, gives; but the historical case of antiquity were still practiced, without apology, by the Christian

this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a minister, who had suffered himself to be deceived, in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished merit. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch, who had secretly captivated the favour of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness, or, at least, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign noble, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the accident which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband. The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy, the powerful subject, whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppressing his enemies. The prefect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East:

of the East's and the bride was forcibly conducted from the house of his parents to that of her husband. One form of marriage requires, with less ceremony, the expense and public consent of a virgin.

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STILICHUS.

and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper instruments for the execution of the blackest designs, that pride, ambition, and revenge, could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations, that he conspired against the person of his sovereign, to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns, and the Goths, to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increase the public confusion. The subtle prefect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the artful measures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the West.\*

Character  
of Stilicho,  
the minister,  
and general,  
of the  
western  
empire.

The celestial gift which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius, and of art. The muse of Claudian,† devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatize his adversaries, Rufinus, or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint, in the most splendid colours, the victories and virtues, of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently

\* Zosimus, *l. vi. p. 220*; Orosius, *lib. vii. c. 37*; and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian on Rufinus, *l. v. 7-10*, paints, in lively colours, the designs and guilt of the prefect.

† Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian: The youth, and private life, of the hero, are vaguely expressed in the review of his first consulship 33-145.



supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius, from the invectives, or the panegyrics, of a contemporary writer: but as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and simplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof, that his patron was neither able, nor desirous, to boast of a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry, in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion, that the general, who so long commanded the armies of Rome, was descended from the savage and perfidious race of the Vandals.\* If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering bard, in the presence of so many thousand spectators, would have hesitated to affirm, that he surpassed the measure of the demi-gods of antiquity; and, that whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of the capital, the astonished crowd made room for the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers

\* *Vandalorum, bellicosi, sterni, periles, et bellum, patria, generis illius.* Orosius, l. vi, c. 28. *Tarvis* (from *l.* 48 *Germanicus*, p. 57) *vultu laeo & semi-barbarico.*

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XXIX.  
*Continued.*

of the East admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius, to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia: he supported, during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman empire; and after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius; the beauty and accomplishments of Serena<sup>a</sup> were universally admired by the obsequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess and the favour of her adoptive father.<sup>b</sup> The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne; which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes, and to employ the abilities, of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse, and count of the domestics, to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of

His military  
career con-  
tinued.

<sup>a</sup> Claudius, in an imperfect passage, has drawn a false, yet lively picture of Serena. That formidably name of Theodosius was lost, as well as the time Theodosius, in Spain, from whence, as they call it, they were hurriedly conducted to the palace of Constantinople.

<sup>b</sup> Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or only acknowledged, see Du Roule, *Écrit. Pictet*, p. 721. An old maxim gave Stilicho the singular title of *Pro-pater* *Dom. Theodosii*.

the Roman, or at least of the western, empire? and his country confessed, that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to demand the soldiers of the pay and gratifications, which they deserved, or claimed, from the liberality of the state? The valour and conduct which he afterwards displayed, in the defence of Italy, against the arms of Alaric and Radagaisus, may justify the tone of his early achievements; and in an age less attentive to the laws of honour, or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank, to the ascendancy of superior genius? He lamented, and revenged, the murder of Proculus, his rival and his friend: and the massacre of many thousands of the flying Bastarnæ is represented by the poet, as a bloody sacrifice, which the Roman Achilles offered to the names of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus; and the arts of

Williamson (1980, 1985) suggests, in particular, the "diagonal equation," and the "generalized diagonal shift" equation. The latter is like "most of the diagonals," as he puts it, whereas, like Hilbert, in the light of the general, undiagonalized result.

<sup>1</sup> The *Journal of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg* (St. Petersburg, 1853), after his departure for the Congress of Vienna (in the military administration) is much more fully considered by the unwilling witness of Zolotarev, *ib. id.*, p. 242.

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Handwritten, possibly in ink, at base of first leaf.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

100

Charles, Law South of U.S. Ac.

A medical group would manage their patients, either having part-time staff or shared services.





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calumny might have been successful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic foes, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire.<sup>a</sup> Theodosius continued to support an unworthy minister, to whose diligence he delegated the government of the palace, and of the East; but when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the last moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho the care of his sons, and of the republic.<sup>b</sup> The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important trust; and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires, during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius.<sup>c</sup> The first measure of his administration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit wisely to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter; descended the stream of

<sup>a</sup> Compare the poem on the left hand side, p. 11, 11-112, with the *Letter to Serena*, 111-114, where it inflammatiely breaks off. We have possibly the deep moderate malice of Rufinus.

<sup>b</sup> ——— *Quem fecerit ille ipse*

*Discedens, cypselumque defensorumque domum.*

Yet the conclusion (fr. *Const. Hist.* 431) was private, and *Const. Hist.* 431, which declares it a *factum* and not a *receptum*, is unimpaired. *Senatus* and *Senatus*, apply to Rufinus, and Rufinus, the same equal side of *Senatus*, *Senatus*, or *Senatus*.

<sup>c</sup> The Roman law distinguished two sorts of senatus, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the same, in relation, of the person; the other to the estate, or tenure, of the estate, *Memoratus, Anonymus, Reg. ad Augustinus, partum*, 1, 1, 11, 111, 111, p. 111-111. But these legal laws were never actually translated into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

the Rhine, from the fortress of Basil to the marches of Batavia; reviewed the state of the garrisons; repressed the enterprises of the Germans; and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with incredible speed to the palace of Milan.<sup>4</sup> The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the West; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the East.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceased emperor.<sup>5</sup> But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrons of Romans, or barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. \*The various multitudes of Europe and

The Gift  
and Death  
of Rufinus.  
A. D. 393.  
Nov. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See Claudius, *l. l. Caus. Splice. l. 1*, 185-241; but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return between Milan and Leyden.

<sup>5</sup> *l. Caus. Splice. l. 1*, 46-54. Not only the robes and diamonds of the deceased emperor, but even the bedchamber, wardrobe, bells, and rings, &c. were divided with pearls, earrings, and ornaments.

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Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were governed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the limits of the citizen from the rapine of the licentious soldier.<sup>1</sup> Ambitious, however, and impatient, to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of re-conducting in person the troops of the East; and dexterously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge.<sup>2</sup> The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whose enmity he deserved: he computed, with increasing terror, the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica, when he received a peremptory message, to recall the troops of the East, and to declare, that his nearer approach would be considered, by the

—— *Timidus timide* ——

*Pluribus militibus ceteris uno magis legimus.*

This high commendation of Tim. xlv. 1, may be justified by the case of the young emperor, who both *timide* (177-178) and *timidus* and good order, which were enjoyed after his death. *de Cons. Sup. l. 1*, 130, 136.

\* Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are described by Constant. *de Hinc. l. vi.*, 361, 433; Zosimus, *l. i.*, p. 236, 237; Socrates, *l. vi.*, c. 12; Sozomenus, *l. vi.*, c. 12; Phlegonius, *de Alex. p. 1*, with Gieseler, p. 444, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.



Byzantine court, we are not at all surpris'd. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the West, confirmed the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation: and, as he had already engaged the affection of the eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence, with less danger perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the East to Gaius, the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied: with an assurance, at least, that the hardy barbarian would never be diverted from his purpose by any consideration of fear or remorse. The soldiers were easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho, and of Rome: and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Treves to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, they condescended to flatter his pride: the ambitious prefect was seduced to believe, that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head: and the treasures which he distributed, with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an insult, rather than as a gift. At the distance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Heliodorus, the troops halted: and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the

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ranked and disguised, with studied courtesy, his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and included the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gainas gave the signal of death: a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty prefect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hastened in crowds, from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty minister, at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the streets of Constantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whose head was publicly exposed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance.\* According to the savage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their safety to the influence of religion. *Her* sanctuary protected

\* The *descent* of Rufinus, which Claudian pictures with the savage emotions of an assassin, (in *Rufin.* l. 405-413), is still more cruelly affixed by Zosimus and Jordan; (Zona. l. ii. 20).

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\*\*\*\*\*

them from the raging madness of the people; and they were permitted to spend the remainder of their lives in the exercises of Christian devotion, in the peaceful retirement of Jerusalem.

The servile poet of Stilicho applauds, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of justice, violated every law of nature and society, profaned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the universal order and harmony had satisfied Claudian of the existence of the Deity: but the prosperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could dispel the religious doubts of the poet.<sup>a</sup> Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happiness of the people. In less than three months they were informed of the mixings of the new administration, by a singular edict, which established the exclusive right of the treasury over the spoils of Rufinus; and silenced, under heavy penalties, the presumptuous claims of the subjects of the eastern empire, who had

Discord of  
the two  
empires,  
A. D. 396,  
&c.

<sup>a</sup> The pagan Tacitus mentions their sacrifice and punishment. The story of Rufinus, Eutropius, who passed her day at Jerusalem, is current in ecclesiastical history. 1. The Romans being bad dispoſed, and ever ready, perſuaded the commentators on the Bible, Origen, Gregory, Basil, &c. to the amount of five millions of them. 2. At the age of thirteen, ſhe could hear, thoſe who had never ſeeked her looks, face, or any part of her whole body, except the tip of her foot, to receive the conſignation. See the *Vita Philonis*, p. 776, 777.

<sup>b</sup> See the beautiful exhortation of his ſervant againſt Rufinus, which is ſtill extant, in the ancient Syrian Diſpenſation Catalogue, *Wetſ.* 246, 5.



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CONSTANTINOPLE.

been injured by his rapacious tyranny? Even Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival, the fruit which he had proposed; and though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was disappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakness of Arcadius required a master; but he naturally preferred the eloquent arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domestic confidence; and the emperor contemplated, with terror and aversion, the stern visage of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealousy of power, the sword of Gaius, and the charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed master-general of the East, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benefactor; and the eunuchs, who had lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantine. The favourites of Arcadius fomented a secret and irreconcilable war against a formidable hero, who aspired to govern, and to defend, the two empires of Rome, and the two sons of Theodosius. They incessantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect of the people, and the friendship of the barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained from the senate of Con-

<sup>1</sup> See the Theodosian Code, l. vi. c. 21. l. vii. c. 14. 15. The new penalties attempted, such as perpetual slavery, to make the people of their punishment, and to provide for their own future security.

Constantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic, and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the East. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name, depended on the firm union, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed, by their respective masters, to view each other in a foreign, and even hostile, light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the barbarians, whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen.<sup>1</sup> The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who presumed to imitate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman senators;<sup>2</sup> and the Greeks had not yet forgot the sentiments of hatred and contempt, which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the West. The distinction of two governments, which soon produced the separation of two nations, will justify my design of suspending the series of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without interruption,

<sup>1</sup> See Theodoret, *de Corp. Christ.* l. i. 271, 292, 296; A. N. 530; and Zonaras, l. vi. p. 1022.

<sup>2</sup> Canadige turns the venality of the eastern Bishops into a national reflection. (A. N. 124.)

— *Flavienus venit avarus*

Et Byzantium potens, Græcorum Quisquis;

O patellæ phrygiæ, O signi regniæ pennis.

It is curious to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schism between the Greeks and Latins, between the Greeks and Latins.

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REVELL OF  
GILES IN  
AFRICA,  
A. D. 395.  
—

the disgraceful, but memorable, reign of Honorius.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of a prince, and people, who rejected his government, wisely abstained from his unworthy favouritism; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war, displayed the moderation of a *moderatus*, who had so often signified his military spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolts of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital, and the majesty of the western emperor, to the capricious insolence of a Moorish rebel. Gilda,\* the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved, and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason: long and meritorious services, in the armies of Honorius, raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice, and of the finances, without account, and without control; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him, without the danger of a civil

\* Eludius may have suggested the name of Gilda; but his Moorish extraction, his numerous horses, and the recommendations of his Augustus, may justify the poet's invention. Brouha (*Chron. Eccl.* c. 3. D. 395. 396) has treated the African rebellion with skill and learning.



war. During these twelve years, the provinces of Africa groined under the yoke of a tyrant, who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger, with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often superseded by the use of poison; and if the trembling guests, who were invited to the table of Gilda, presumed to express their fears, the insolent suspicion served only to excite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gilda alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust; and if his days were terrible to the rich, his nights were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of barbarians and assassins, the black, or swarthy natives of the desert; whom Gilda considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and suspicious neutrality: refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the

<sup>1</sup> *Inter tredecim annos, quibus illis horreo,*

*Vergens in regem, solutus ab omni solatio.*

*Nihil opus: vixit, quod possit tremore saluti.*

*Exspectans domum, et non secretis iuvatus.*

——— *Magna phœbeus quæsit.*

*Castellum daret.* ———

Between ourselves, will keep away, the consciousness of Gilda, as his wife, his daughter, and his slave, were capable of perfect chastity. The soldiers of the African soldier were checked by one of the sacred laws.



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the provincials, and the crimes of Cilla, to the Roman senate; and the members of that respectable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms.\* A people, who still remembered, that their ancestors had been the saviours of the world, would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom; if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread, to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The prefect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the minister of his just apprehension, that as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.† The prudence of Silicianus conceived, and executed, without delay, the most effectual measure for the relief of the Roman people.‡ A large and reasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was

\* Symmachus, *l. vi. epist. 35* represents the judicial form of the senate; and Claudius, in *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 32*, is said to have first the spirit of a Roman.

† Claudius hardly displays those sympathies of Symmachus, for a spirit of the people of Rome, under the threat of famine, *ita Bell. Gallic. 25-27*.





presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable, that Marcellus should attempt this audacious adventure, at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. These troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that they could subvert, as well as defend, the throne of an usurper, consisted of the *Jovius*, the *Heracles*, and the *Agrippæ*, legions; of the *Nervæ* auxiliaries; of the soldiers, who displayed in their banners the symbol of a *lion*, and of the troops who bore distinguished by the auspicious names of *Invulnerable*, and *Invincible*. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that these seven bands,\* of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men.† The fleet of galleys and transports sailed in tempestuous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capræa; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance.

<sup>2</sup> Changling, *Bull. Geol.* 445-423. The strength of sampling allowed him to use confidently the notion of *Lepus fulvus*, *Montgomeri*. See the *Journal of Geol.* 8, 29, 40.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas D. Williams, 194, p. 257, qualifies this account, with an alternative of doubt, of slavery and is generally in sympathy with the Southern view of Lincoln, D.C., p. 270. The Christian, after more discussion about Lincoln's motives, finally writes, that while he was a Southerner, he thought the word should be, we wanted them, (1) *Christian*, 1862, p. 270.

CHAP. XXX. "The whole island (says an ingenious traveller of  
 those times) is filled, or rather desiled, by men,  
 who fly from the light. They call themselves  
*Monks*, or *solitaries*, because they choose to  
 live alone, without any witnesses of their ac-  
 tions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from  
 the apprehension of losing them; and, lest  
 they should be miserable, they embrace a life  
 of voluntary wretchedness. How absurd is  
 their choice! how perverse their understanding!  
 to dread the evils, without being able to sup-  
 port the blessings, of the human condition.  
 Either this melancholy madness is the effect of  
 disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges  
 these unhappy men to exercise on their own  
 bodies the torments which are inflicted on fugi-  
 tive slaves by the hand of justice." Such  
 was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the  
 monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the  
 pious Maecetel, as the chosen servants of God.\*  
 Some of them were persuaded, by his entreaties,  
 to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed, to  
 the praise of the Roman general, that his days and  
 nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the  
 occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader,

\* CHAM. RUD. NORTON. *Itinerary*, 4, 138-140. His observations (1513-1527) constitute a religious treatise on the life of Capraria. For such profane remarks, however, and his accomplishments, are attested, by his commendation, Boetius, called *opus* *capraria*. *Trajectus* (Mans. *Itin.* tom. III, p. 471) never exactly observed, that the un-  
 believing poet never should be known to himself.

\* *Itinerary* 4, 13, c. 30, p. 144. *Capraria* commends even of these  
 strange events of the life of Capraria, *opus* *capraria*, *opus* *Trajectus*, *Mans.*  
*Itin.* tom. III, p. 471, and *Statutus*. *Annal.* *Itin.* A. D. 1513,  
 N. 11.



who, with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, attended the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardinia, and secured his ships against the violence of the south wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.\*

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CONTINUED.

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavoured to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gætulla and Ethiopia. He proudly collected an army of seventy thousand men, and trusted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Honorius, and involve, in a cloud of burning sulphur, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany. But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Himerius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of barbarians; whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally unarmed as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand; and whose horses

Order and  
rank of  
troops,  
A. D. 408.

\* After the first book of the *Orationes* was terminated. The last of Claudius's poems has been lost, and we are ignorant how or where the army under good laws landed in Africa.

† Gildo would be responsible for the ultimate. The preservation of Africa, and the various towns of barbarians, is celebrated by Claudius, in *Epica*. Vol. I. C. 34. 35. 36.

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had never been taught to bear the restraint, or to obey the guidance, of the leader. He fixed his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of a general engagement.\* As Maxentius advanced before the front with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm, and the standard, sunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all the standards of the line. At this signal, the disaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed, according to their custom, in tumultuary flight; and Maxentius obtained the honours of an easy, and almost bloodless, victory.† The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the sea-shore; and threw himself into a small vessel, with the hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of the empire of the East; but the obstinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tarraco,‡ which had acknowledged, with the rest

\* St. Ambrose, who had been about a year, resigned, as a slave, the care and place of the victory. Maxentius acknowledged his debts to Fortune, the great temple of the gods, from whence it might easily pass to Heaven.

† *Maxentius* li. vi. p. 205. supposes an advantage landed; but the situation of Ostia appears to suggest a real loss, under the disguise of a triumph.

‡ Taking his journey, *See* the *Itiner. Galliarum*, tom. ii. p. 6. p. 112; & *Antonin.* tom. iii. p. 46. Ostia has naturally seized the field of battle; but our ignorance cannot fix on the precise situation.

of the provinces, the dominion of Himerius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolerable torture of supporting the presence of an injured, and victorious, brother.<sup>4</sup> The captives, and the spoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous, and more sincere, in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic, and referred to the senate and people of Rome the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.<sup>5</sup> Their trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this absolute and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates, who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, in subsequent edicts, at the distance of ten

<sup>4</sup> The death of Gildo is supposed by Orosius, *l. viii. c. 1* to have been in 407, and his last interpreters, Zosimus and Jordanes.

<sup>5</sup> Orosius, *l. viii. c. 1* Oros. Stilicho, 10-112) describes their trial; but does not admit any account of their trial, and especially the punishment of the wicked constitution. It is true that he mentions the Roman senate, as having no power of punishment.

— *Quintus Aurelius Memmius* —

*Quintus Aurelius Memmius* —

For the present, which appears in the text, we will suppose the quality.



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years, continues and increases the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion.<sup>1</sup> The adherents of the tyrant, who escaped the first fury of the soldiers, and the judges, might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Masezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy;<sup>2</sup> and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moorish prince, who accompanied the master-general of the West, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile, which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Masezel was irrecoverably drowned.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage  
and the  
marriage of  
Theodora,  
A. D. 395.

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance

<sup>1</sup> See the Theodosian Code, l. 14, tit. xxviii, leg. 3: l. 16, tit. lvi, leg. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Stilicho, who claimed an equal share in all the victories of Theodorus and his son, particularly asserts, that he was rewarded by the relation of his marriage, from the disapproval produced by Honorius.

<sup>3</sup> I have noticed the marriage of Theodora, which is the same story, it almost inevitably is, p. 303. I have done this, because during the execution of the text, I have found the right of marriage.

—council to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this propitious day: he sang, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed their union, and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the seat of harmony and love; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native seas, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart, in the just and pleasing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience, which Claudian attributes to the young prince,\* must excite the smiles of the court; and his beautiful spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year

C. L. A. V.

XXIX

\* Claudian, on the poet laureat, assigned a cool and cautious psychology to the 240 lines, which contain the 100 Palatine lines, which were sung, in a great dramatic form, on the wedding night.

——— *Uter solus in*

*And princeps, in language of soft discourse, sweet*

*And the kind sleep engages.*

See *Supra* Honorius, *Maritima*, 187, and *infra* *Tristis* in the *Fortunatus*, (111.) 120.

*Thine, O goddess, the whole history*

*Quoniam tu sola domas omnia, Veneranda*

*Tunc videri statim quoniam tu*

*Quoniam tu sola domas omnia, Veneranda*

CHAP. XXII.  
 of his age; Soenia, the mother of his lady, de-  
 ferred, by act or permission, the consummation of  
 the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin, after she  
 had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the  
 emperor was secured by the eulhoria, or, per-  
 haps, the delirium, of his constitution.<sup>1</sup> His  
 subjects, who attentively studied the character of  
 their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius  
 was without passions, and consequently without  
 talents; and that his feeble and languid dispo-  
 sition was unlike incapable of discharging the duties  
 of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his  
 age. In his early youth he made some progress  
 in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow;  
 but he soon relinquished these trifling occupa-  
 tions, and the amusement of feeding poultry  
 became the serious and daily care of the monarch  
 of the West;<sup>2</sup> who resigned the reins of empire to  
 the firm and skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho.  
 The experience of history will countenance the  
 suspicion, that a prince who was born in the  
 purple, received a worse education than the  
 meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the  
 ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age  
 of manhood, without attempting to excite his  
 courage, or to enlighten his understanding.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Zosimus, l. i. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius de Bello Gothico, l. i. c. 8. I have however the ge-  
 neral practice of Honorius, which supplied the defects of a  
 more respectable title, which originated by the Greek hierarchy.

<sup>3</sup> The history of Theodosius or rather Theodosius, (v. Crisp. Honor.  
 914-1166, might suggest a new institution for the future prince of a  
 great eastern nation. It was the usage of Honorius, and his elegant and  
 cultured



The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate, by their example, or at least by their presence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their lives attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the chamber of his life, a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Revers of the Goths—They plunder Greece—Two great  
 sermons of Ambrose and Augustine—They  
 are repulsed by Stilicho—The Germans driven  
 from—Surprise of Constantine in the West—  
 Disgrace and death of Stilicho.*

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Revers of  
 the Goths,  
 A. D. 392.*

IF the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced, how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the same year, the Gothic nation was in arms.\* The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the last treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet; and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, — that they

\* The revers of the Goths, and the blockade of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian, *de Ritho*, l. 2, v. 1681; *de Consulatu*, l. 1, v. 275, and *de Consulatu*, l. 1, v. 275.

"rolled their ponderous waggon<sup>s</sup> over the broad  
"and icy back of the indignant river." The  
unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of  
the Danube, submitted to the calamities, which,  
in the course of twenty years, were almost grown  
familiar to their imagination; and the various  
troops of barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic  
name, were irregularly spread from the woody  
shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantino-  
ple.\* The interruption, or at least the diminution,  
of the subsidy, which the Goths had received  
from the prudent liberality of Theodosius, was  
the specious pretence of their revolt: the affront  
was embittered by their contempt for the unwar-  
like sons of Theodosius; and their resentment  
was inflamed by the weakness, or treachery, of  
the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of  
Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose  
arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were  
considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty  
correspondence: and the public enemy, from a  
motive either of gratitude or of policy, was  
attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare  
the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The

— *Alle per lungo tempo*  
Densità insistenti esserli i vapori non vada  
Fungibile esserli vada.

Chasius and Ovis when among their Snow, by interchanging the two  
regions and properties of liquid water, and salt ice. Much Salt will  
not have expanded in cold dry weather.

\* *Leontius* lib. 4. p. 22. His endeavours to conduct his friend Melito-  
dorus, bishop of Athens, for the loss of his nephew Nepotian, by a  
violent insurrection of all the public and private adherents of the  
usurper. See *Tillemont*, *Mém. des Empereurs*, t. 6. p. 230, &c.



CHAP.

XXX.

Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was descended from the noblerace of the Balthi,\* which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali: he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms: but the want of wisdom and valour was supplied by the strength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.

\* *Heckel, or Adal.* says *Heckel*, says *Johannsen*, 12. 29. The *ancient* name long continued to flourish in France in the Gothic province of Septimania, or *Septimania* under the corrupted appellation of *Septim*; and a branch of that family afterwards settled in the kingdom of Naples, whence the *Proterius* of *His. Sicil.* p. 115. The *lands of Sicily*, *their* *Armenia*, and of several other antient places, were independent of the empire of *Proterius*, *Septimania*, *Septimania* in *France*, *vol.* 1. p. 115.

\* *Heckel* (i. e. p. 115-116) is our best guide for the conquest of *Germany*; but the names and situation of *Heckel* are so many days of *Heckel* *Heckel*.

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion, that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a steep and woody range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west, to the edge of the sea-shore; and left between the precipice and the Mæian gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.<sup>1</sup> In this narrow pass of Thermopylae, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped, or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylae, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage

CHAP.  
XXX.  
ALARIC  
MARTIN  
1144  
Goths,  
A. D. 396

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Strabo*, lib. 10, p. 112, and *Strabo*, lib. 10, p. 112. The narrowness of Thermopylae was actually enlarged by such successive trials.

CHAP.  
XIX.

of Abrie<sup>g</sup> and the fertile fields of Phocis, and Boeotia, were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians; who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil, and cattle of the flaming villages. The travellers, who visited Greece several years afterwards, would easily discern the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thebes was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates, than to the expectations of Abrie, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the important harbour of the Piræus. The same impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a siege, by the offer of a capitulation; and as soon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth, as the ransom of the city of Salamina, and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and pledged with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small and select train, was admitted within the walls: he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrates, and affected to show that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations.<sup>h</sup> But the whole territory of Attica,

<sup>g</sup> He passed, says Strabo, in VII. Phocis, p. 214. edit. Cambrige, 1270, through the mountains, he saw water (of Thermopylæ) running every day under his feet, and under his horse's hoofs.

<sup>h</sup> In *Antiquities of Greece*, and *Classical Tour*, 1. ii. p. 133, I have noted some Greek notices of the wild representation of Xerxes, who failed to enter the harbour of Athens.



from the promontory of Saronis to the town of Megara, was blasted in his hateful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, Athens itself resembled the bleeding and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *land road*, an expressive name, which it still bears among the Greeks, was, or might easily have been made, impossible for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Sciræian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the sea-shore.\* The passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles from the Ionian to the Ægean sea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponnesus in their natural rampart, had tempted them to

*See the Geography of Greece, volume first.*

*Strabo* (*Geogr. lib. p. 172.* edit. *Paris*) observed, that Athens, a town without walls, owed its preservation, not to her arms, but to her schools of philosophy. One for the trade of being.

— *Vallée and Sciræian rocks.*

*See the antiquities of Greece, volume first.*

*Idem.*

*See also the Hist. of Greece, 486.*

The Sciræian rocks are described by *Pliny* (*lib. 4, c. 44, p. 101.* edit. *Kilias*) and our *Antiquities of Greece*, *Wharton* (p. 429) and *Cluverius* (p. 128). *Hudson* calls the road possible for two eagles.

N.B.

CHAP.  
XXX.

neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province.\* Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved, by death, from beholding the slavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities.<sup>†</sup> The vases and statues were distributed among the barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the elegance of the workmanship; the female captives submitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reasonably complain of an abuse, which was justified by the example of the heroic times.<sup>‡</sup> The descendants of that extraordinary people, who had considered valour and discipline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the generous reply of their ancestors to an invader more formidable than Alaric. “If thou art a god, thou wilt not hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a man,

\* *Constantine the Great*, l. vi, 148, and *de Hæticis*, 381, &c. &c. signify, though loosely, the means of ruin and destruction.

† The passage drawn on *scipione*, &c. These precious bones of Homer (*Odysse*, l. vi, 322) were transmitted by one of the captive youths of Corinth; and the story of Menæceus may prove that the trade commerce, though he was ignorant of the value of *it*, (original piece), procured the purest source of good laws, a powerful motive (*Plutarch*, *Lycogenes*, l. ix, c. 1, p. 737, vol. Werbel.).

‡ Homer propounds doubtless the exemplary influence of those female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the conquerors of their fathers, brothers, &c. Such a position of Englishmen, added to, treated with admirable dexterity by Rucell.

"advance,—and thou wilt find men equal to thyself." From Thermopylae to Sparta, the leader of the Goths pursued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagonists: but one of the advocates of expiring paganism has confidently asserted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddess Minerva, with her formidable *Egis*, and by the angry phantom of Achilles;\* and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the hostile deities of Greece. In an age of miracles, it would perhaps be unjust to dispute the claim of the historian Zosimus to the common benefit: yet it cannot be dissembled, that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in sleeping or waking visions, the impressions of Greek superstition. The songs of Homer, and the fame of Achilles, had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate barbarian; and the Christian faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to despise the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invasion of the Goths, instead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at least accidentally, to extirpate the last remains of paganism; and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred

CHAP.  
XXX.  
THE GOTHIC INVASION.

\* Zosimus (in *Pyrrhus*, book ii, p. 471, edit. Brunck) gives the greater answer to the Lacedæmonian. Pyrrhus sailed at Sparta with 25,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and 24 elephants; and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the tale of Troy, since in the first days of June.

\* 24th, perhaps, as Homer (*Iliad* ix, 181) has so nobly painted him.



CHAP. years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis,  
XXX and the calamities of Greece.<sup>2</sup>

The last hope of a people who could no longer  
176 B. C. depend on their arms, their gods, or their sov-  
176 B. C. eraign, was placed in the powerful assistance of the  
176 B. C. general of the West; and Stilicho, who had not  
176 B. C. been permitted to repulse, advanced in chase, the  
176 B. C. invaders of Greece.<sup>3</sup> A numerous fleet was  
equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after  
a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian  
sea, were safely disembarked on the isthmus, near  
the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous  
country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan  
and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and  
doubtful conflict between two generals not un-  
worthy of each other. The skill and perseverance  
of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Goths,  
after sustaining a considerable loss from disease  
and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty  
mountain of Pholoe, near the sources of the  
Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a sacred  
country, which had formerly been exempted from  
the calamities of war.<sup>4</sup> The camp of the bar-

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, *in* Vit. Palladius, p. 94, 95, observes, that a troop of monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic camp.

<sup>3</sup> The Gothic's latest war, compares the rapid progress of *Indar*, (D. v. p. 238, 240), with the various unsuccessful battles of *Clodius*, (p. 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

<sup>4</sup> The troops who marched through Elis followed by their wives. This account resembles the *Illyrians*, who were known as a cruel and fierce people. They followed their wives, and they suffered. Polybius relates that in 147, the wives were with their single sons. See a

harbours was immediately besieged: the waters of the river were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the insupportable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, triumphant of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and lascivious dances, of the Greeks: his soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have seized the favourable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre, than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce the intrenchments which surrounded his camp: that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil, over an arm of the sea, which, in the narrow interval

terred and justified himself on the Olympic games, which the West has imitated by the introduction of Pheidon.

\* Classified in *it Times*, May 4th applied to the fact, without mentioning the story, perhaps the *Advertiser*, of Nov. 11, 1894.

— D. M. Jones, Genl. &amp; Capt. 1861-1862.

Yet, I believe, neither the *Temple*, a brilliant volume by a well-known play-  
wright, which passes through three editions, nor the very *Temple Edition*,  
I had been joined with the *Agitation*, to discuss the *Anglo-Saxon* state,  
the *Anglo-Saxon* law, the *Anglo-Saxon* Church, or the *Anglo-Saxon* people.

THAT, between Rhine and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile in breadth.\* The operations of Alaric must have been secret, prudent, and rapid: since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Ephesus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty, which he secretly negotiated, with the ministers of Constantinople. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the East.

Alaric as  
described  
himself,  
general of  
the eastern  
Romeans,  
A. D. 398.

A Grecian philosopher,\* who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman republic. Synticus observes, and deploras, the fatal abuse, which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens, and subjects, had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country: which was supported by the arms

\* Seebeck, i. vol. p. 322. *Proc. Rom. Imper. l. i. c. 2.* Proculus, p. 118. Theodoret, p. 121. They imagined, that different powers, in practice, between the two heads.

— Synticus spent three years (A. D. 391-400) at Constantinople, as deputy from Cyprus to the emperor Arcadius. He presented the king a tablet of gold, and presented letters from the patriarchs and the Bishops, (p. 123, with *Proc. Imper. l. i. c. 2*). The philosopher was made bishop of Ostunda, A. D. 410, and died about 420. See *Ullmann's Hist. Justin. max. l. vi. p. 188, 146, 152, 154*.



of barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disclaimed the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state.\* The measures, which Synesius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court, and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of barbarians, who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots.† The court of Arcadius is

\* *Synesius de Regno*, p. 11-15.

CHAP. indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the East, in the language of reason and virtue, which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not endeavoured to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper, and circumstances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by rederision, might reject, as wild and chimerical, every proposal, which exceeded the measure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the union of Synesius, and the downfall of the barbarians, were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the possession of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate, in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers, whose sons he had massacred, the husbands, whose wives he had violated, were subject to his authority: and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alaric applied his new command, distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He issued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offensive and defensive arms, Margos, Ratiaria, Nais-

mus, and Thessalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears: the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the barbarians removed the only defect which had sometimes disappointed the efforts of their courage. The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, inseparably united the body of the nation under his victorious standard, and with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths. Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Anradius, and Honorius; till he declared, and executed, his resolution of invading the dominions of the West. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the

附錄 4

571

and all  
of the  
world.

————— qui habet unguis  
 Interet i. qd. interet, qd. i. sententia Actum  
 Interet, et. Episcopus interet populo. Interet.  
 Interet Interet i. qd. interet, qd. interet.  
 Interet Interet i. qd. interet, qd. interet.  
 Interet Interet i. qd. interet, qd. interet.  
 Interet Interet i. qd. interet, qd. interet.

Described in Figure 2 in 248. Also, apparently the 179 entry, 4. 10. 1900, 228-229, is the one which he had made at this time.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia*, vol. 45, p. 533. The Greek sentence cited, with its literal sense, does not differ from what the above English expression means. This is not at all surprising.

[illegible]

1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 26





length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube: and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Maric on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia, and an husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod,<sup>6</sup> wisely preferred the dangers of a besieged city: and the barbarians, who furiously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island.<sup>7</sup> The old man,<sup>8</sup> who had passed his simple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a stranger to the

<sup>6</sup> Tacticus Blomberg, who justifies flight, at such a distance, by heretics, upon persecutions, follows with caution. *Annales*, tom. 5, p. 416. Rufinus understood his own danger: the peaceful city was captured by the belated Marcellus, and the rest of Jovinian's faction.

<sup>7</sup> Jovinian, the young of Rome and of Italy, who was persecuted and punished by the fathers of the Council of Rome, *Annales*, tom. 5, p. 401, 402. See the original edict of intolerance in the Theodosian Code, *Novell.* lib. 5, leg. 42.

<sup>8</sup> This region (the *Sena Venetorum*) is situated between the *Adriatic* and the *Alps*, and was the most fertile and most populous of the Roman Empire. Cæsar's *Commentaries* (lib. 5, p. 541) has some account and happy sketches of it, as a rich and fertile land, which is evidently drawn from the life.

CHAP.  
XX.  
[continued]

quarrels both of kings and of bishops: his pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a staff supported his aged steps, on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity, (which Claudian describes with so much truth and feeling), was still exposed to the undistinguishing rage of war. His trees, his old contemporary trees,\* must blaze in the conflagration of the whole country: a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep away his cottage and his family: and the power of Alaric could destroy this happiness, which he was not able either to taste, or to bestow. "Fame," says the poet, "incircling with terror or gloomy" "wings, proclaimed the march of the barbarian" "army, and filled Italy with consternation;" the apprehensions of each individual were increased in just proportion to the measure of his fortune: and the most timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their escape to the island of Sicily, or the African coast. 'The public distress was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of superstition.' Every hour produced

*Legimus murmur parvoque agitata cunctas*

*Superstitio: tota commotum timore.*

A whispering crowd soon with himself he sees,

And soon the old contemporary tree

In the passage, Claudian is perhaps superior to his original; and the English poet, who was a good historian, has converted the same words into powerful expression.

[*Flavianus de Bell. Goth. l. 25. 256.* He says, *populi*, his trees and antiquities occupied as large a space in the minds of the Romans.



some horrid tale of strange and portentous accidents: the pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of sacrifices: but the Christians still derived some comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs.\*

The emperor Honorius was distinguished, above his subjects, by the pre-eminence of *birth*, as well as of *rank*. The pride and haughty in which he was educated, had not allowed him to suspect, that there existed on the earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the sound of war had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to arms with the spirit, or even the rashness, of his age, he eagerly listened to those timid counsellors, who proposed to convey his sacred person, and his faithful attendants, to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone† had courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhodian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and

\* From the passage of Pausanias, which Pausanias has quoted, (Aesch. Epist. A. D. 403, p. 211, &c.) it is evident, that the general opinion had prevailed at Italy, as far as Rome in Company, when that general passed the Tiber the night.

† From the passage, which is the evidence of the evidence with the Christian passage, and that the text, without considering to accept the passage. How insignificant that Honorius have appeared in the text.

CHAP.  
XIII.

provisions, the general of the West could only suppose, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment, (while such moment was so important to the public safety), Stilicho hastily embarked on the Italian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow, amidst the severity of an Alpine winter, and suddenly reappeared, by his unexpected presence, the enemy, who had disturbed the tranquillity of Rhaetia.<sup>a</sup> The barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Alemanni, respected the firmness of a chief, who still assumed the language of command; and the choice which he emboldened to make of a select number of their bravest youth, was considered as a mark of his esteem and favour. The recruits, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the imperial standards; and Stilicho issued his orders to the most remote troops of the West, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Hispania and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legions, which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians of the North, was hastily recalled;<sup>b</sup> and a numerous body

<sup>a</sup> The tale of the recovery and the success of Stilicho, are fully detailed, *de Bell. Got.* lib. 14—15.

<sup>b</sup> *Vita et Imperium Imper. Augusti Augustini*  
*Quæst. Hist. lib. 17.*

CHAP.  
XXX.  
NINTH BOOK.

of the cavalry of the Mant were persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conspicuous on this occasion, which revealed, at the same time, the weakness of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars: and it was found impossible, without exhausting and exposing the provinces, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy.

He is per-  
suaded and  
solicited by  
the Goths.

When Stilicho seemed to abandon his sove-  
reign in the unguarded palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rain, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents.\* But the season happened to be remarkably dry; and the

\* Yet the most rapid stretch from Edinburgh, or Newcastle, to Milan, would have required a longer space of time than Stilicho seems willing to allow for the marching of his troops.

\* "Kerry's relation must confirm the fact of knowledge, that Theodorus, king of the Goths, which is often mentioned by the historians and frequent observations of writers. The history of Milan, which was destroyed by the day and of the Emperor, is the smallest part of the history of the Goths, and the most important part of the history of the Goths. The Goths were the most powerful nation in the world, and the most powerful nation in the world, and the most powerful nation in the world." (A. D. 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000)



CHAP.  
XX.  
THE GOTHIC WAR.

Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was lately marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army; and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the suburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius<sup>a</sup> had scarcely passed the Po, before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry;<sup>b</sup> since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piedmont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus.<sup>c</sup> The siege of an obscure place, which contained so rich a prize, and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was instantly formed, and indefatigably pressed, by the king of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor ought afterwards

<sup>a</sup> Claudius does not clearly answer our question. Where was Honorius himself? Yet the fight is marked by the passage; and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Gothic codes, *Sacrosanctum Roman. L. P. d. p. 362*, de leg. Gothorum l. vi. and Marcellus, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 632.

<sup>b</sup> One of the walls may be traced in the *Tabularius*, p. 98, 208, 214, with Wesseling's Notes. Asta lay some miles on the right bank.

<sup>c</sup> Asta, or Asti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleasant county, which, in the sixteenth century, descended to the Duke of Savoy, (London: Albert Desnoyons d'Italia, p. 204).

make, that his breast had never been susceptible of fear, did not probably shun much credit, even in his teen court.\* In the last, and almost hopeless extremity, after the barbarians had already proposed the indignity of a capitulation, the imperial captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the presence of the hero, whom he had so long expected. At the head of a chosen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho swam the stream of the Adidua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge; the passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the barbarian was gradually invested, on every side, by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were straitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting,

\* *See the third imperial edict.* We might hold this great language, we were near of Rome, five hundred miles from the seats of danger, *et. Cass. Hist. 449.*





in the neighbourhood of Pallantia\*, was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the unshaken genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, the pious confidence, that the God of the Christians would assert their cause, added new strength to their native valor. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, approved his suspected loyalty, by the zeal with which he fought, and fell, in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Maric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general, and the bravery of the soldiers, surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths\* retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rage and slaughter made some noise.

\* The temples of Pallantia are supposed to have been the work of the  
 of Rome. There, in the same neighbourhood, was a royal altar of  
 the temple of Juno, and a small river, which crossed the public  
 way. \*\* *placitum ad alanos*. — (Cass. Hist. long. ann. 5,  
 p. 324.)

## CHAP.

## XXX.

ment for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire.<sup>1</sup> The magnificent spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the West: the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promise of Roman jewels and patrician handmaids,<sup>2</sup> was reduced to implore the mercy of the hunting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the praises of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho<sup>3</sup> was compared by the poets, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marcellus, who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of northern barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orosius writes, in detached words, to imitate the style of the Romans: "Pugnas valentes, ceteris ante omnes." Prosper on Clerici makes it an equal and bloody battle: but the Gothic writers, Cassiodorus (in Clovis) and Jordanes, lib. ii. c. 129, make a decisive victory.

<sup>2</sup> Orosius Ammonius generally ascribes nothing to Romanasque and Gothicis armis perire.

De Bell. Go. 687.

<sup>3</sup> Claudian, lib. ii. De Bell. Go. 565-617, and Prætorius, in Symmach. lib. 494-719, celebrate, without dissimulating, the Roman victory at Pollentia. They are personal and party writers; yet how could it shake the more impartial Stilicho, who was shocked by the recollection of facts.

<sup>4</sup> Claudian's expression is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbri and Gothic fields, must be understood like Vergil's Philippi.

Georg. 3.

The eloquence of Claudian<sup>1</sup> has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron: but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind, which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he escaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king;<sup>2</sup> and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the

CLAUD.

XXX.

Business  
and retreat  
of Alaric.

Causes to refer according to the known geography of a poem. Vercellæ and Pollentia are very near from each other; and the battle is well proved, if the Clusæ were situated in the wild and barren place of Vercellæ. (Maffei, *Notæ Polæmaticæ*, p. 4. p. 24. 1787.)

<sup>1</sup> Claudian and Prætextatus seem to express exactly the same idea, viz. that the Goths, and even the Italian cities, of those parts.

<sup>2</sup> To prevent our seeing his false advantage.

The new statue completely eclipses his images.

The pleasure of acquiring so many the images of kings and persons was limited to the Romans. The king of Milanides himself was it that king of those gold, (Prætextatus, *Supplementum Claudianæ*, 41.)



CHAP. XXII.  
 SECTION I.  
 AFTER the incessant diligence of Stilicho: but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the deliverance of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the proposition of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raised him, for *their* service, above the rank of his equals: they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to circumscribe their interest by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people: ratified the treaty with the empire of the West, and repossessed the Po, with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman army still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, was punctually apprised of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to signalize his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhaetian Alps; and, directing his march through the *territories* of those German tribes, whose alliance would restore his exhausted strength, to encamp, on the side of the Rhine, the wealthy and

CHAP.

XXX.

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unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treachery, which had already betrayed his bold and audacious enterprises, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the imperial troops; where he was exposed, almost in the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Veron, the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Polhemus; and their valiant king, who escaped by the assistance of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner: if the hasty rescuers of the chief had not disappointed the measures of the Roman general. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capacious barbarians. In this extremity, he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.\* Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often

\* The Gothic war and the sixth century of history already present the picture of Alaric's fortune and fate.

CH. IV.

XXX.

The  
people of  
Rome,  
in Rome,  
A. D. 410.

dismissed the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the crowd is diligently occupied by envy and calumny.<sup>1</sup>

The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital, confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the imperial city, the auspicious era of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consulship.<sup>2</sup> The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine, or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected: but in less than seven years, the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription to that monument, which attested the total defeat and

<sup>1</sup> Tacit. de Morib. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100. c. 101. c. 102. c. 103. c. 104. c. 105. c. 106. c. 107. c. 108. c. 109. c. 110. c. 111. c. 112. c. 113. c. 114. c. 115. c. 116. c. 117. c. 118. c. 119. c. 120. c. 121. c. 122. c. 123. c. 124. c. 125. c. 126. c. 127. c. 128. c. 129. c. 130. c. 131. c. 132. c. 133. c. 134. c. 135. c. 136. c. 137. c. 138. c. 139. c. 140. c. 141. c. 142. c. 143. c. 144. c. 145. c. 146. c. 147. c. 148. c. 149. c. 150. c. 151. c. 152. c. 153. c. 154. c. 155. c. 156. c. 157. c. 158. c. 159. c. 160. c. 161. c. 162. c. 163. c. 164. c. 165. c. 166. c. 167. c. 168. c. 169. c. 170. c. 171. c. 172. c. 173. c. 174. c. 175. c. 176. c. 177. c. 178. c. 179. c. 180. c. 181. c. 182. c. 183. c. 184. c. 185. c. 186. c. 187. c. 188. c. 189. c. 190. c. 191. c. 192. c. 193. c. 194. c. 195. c. 196. c. 197. c. 198. c. 199. c. 200. c. 201. c. 202. c. 203. c. 204. c. 205. c. 206. c. 207. c. 208. c. 209. c. 210. c. 211. c. 212. c. 213. c. 214. c. 215. c. 216. c. 217. c. 218. c. 219. c. 220. c. 221. c. 222. c. 223. c. 224. c. 225. c. 226. c. 227. c. 228. c. 229. c. 230. c. 231. c. 232. c. 233. c. 234. c. 235. c. 236. c. 237. c. 238. c. 239. c. 240. c. 241. c. 242. c. 243. c. 244. c. 245. c. 246. c. 247. c. 248. c. 249. c. 250. c. 251. c. 252. c. 253. c. 254. c. 255. c. 256. c. 257. c. 258. c. 259. c. 260. c. 261. c. 262. c. 263. c. 264. c. 265. c. 266. c. 267. c. 268. c. 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644. c. 645. c. 646. c. 647. c. 648. c. 649. c. 650. c. 651. c. 652. c. 653. c. 654. c. 655. c. 656. c. 657. c. 658. c. 659. c. 660. c. 661. c. 662. c. 663. c. 664. c. 665. c. 666. c. 667. c. 668. c. 669. c. 670. c. 671. c. 672. c. 673. c. 674. c. 675. c. 676. c. 677. c. 678. c. 679. c. 680. c. 681. c. 682. c. 683. c. 684. c. 685. c. 686. c. 687. c. 688. c. 689. c. 690. c. 691. c. 692. c. 693. c. 694. c. 695. c. 696. c. 697. c. 698. c. 699. c. 700. c. 701. c. 702. c. 703. c. 704. c. 705. c. 706. c. 707. c. 708. c. 709. c. 710. c. 711. c. 712. c. 713. c. 714. c. 715. c. 716. c. 717. c. 718. c. 719. c. 720. c. 721. c. 722. c. 723. c. 724. c. 725. c. 726. c. 727. c. 728. c. 729. c. 730. c. 731. c. 732. c. 733. c. 734. c. 735. c. 736. c. 737. c. 738. c. 739. c. 740. c. 741. c. 742. c. 743. c. 744. c. 745. c. 746. c. 747. c. 748. c. 749. c. 750. c. 751. c. 752. c. 753. c. 754. c. 755. c. 756. c. 757. c. 758. c. 759. c. 760. c. 761. c. 762. c. 763. c. 764. c. 765. c. 766. c. 767. c. 768. c. 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1128. c. 1129. c. 1130. c. 1131. c. 1132. c. 1133. c. 1134. c. 1135. c. 1136. c. 1137. c. 1138. c. 1139. c. 1140. c. 1141. c. 1142. c. 1143. c. 1144. c. 1145. c. 1146. c. 1147. c. 1148. c. 1149. c. 1150. c. 1151. c. 1152. c. 1153. c. 1154. c. 1155. c. 1156. c. 1157. c. 1158. c. 1159. c. 1160. c. 1161. c. 1162. c. 1163. c. 1164. c. 1165. c. 1166. c. 1167. c. 1168. c. 1169. c. 1170. c. 1171. c. 1172. c. 1173. c. 1174. c. 1175. c. 1176. c. 1177. c. 1178. c. 1179. c. 1180. c. 1181. c. 1182. c. 1183. c. 1184. c. 1185. c. 1186. c. 1187. c. 1188. c. 1189. c. 1190. c. 1191. c. 1192. c. 1193. c. 1194. c. 1195. c. 1196. c. 1197. c. 1198. c. 1199. c. 1200. c. 1201. c. 1202. c. 1203. c. 1204. c. 1205. c. 1206. c. 1207. c. 1208. c. 1209. c. 1210. c. 1211. c. 1212. c. 1213. c. 1214. c. 1215. c. 1216. c. 1217. c. 1218. c. 1219. c. 1220. c. 1221. c. 1222. c. 1223. c. 1224. c. 1225. c. 1226. c. 1227. c. 1228. c. 1229. c. 1230. c. 1231. c. 1232. c. 1233. c. 1234. c. 1235. c. 1236. c. 1237. c. 1238. c. 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destruction of their nation? The emperor reigned several months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits, and liberal gifts, to the churches of the apostles. The senate, who, in the triumphal procession, had been excused from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the imperial chariot, was treated with the devout reverence which Stilicho always affected for that assembly. The people was repeatedly gratified by the attention and courtesy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occasion with a magnificence not unworthy of the spectator. As soon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the circus was suddenly changed; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment; and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.

In these games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators<sup>a</sup> polluted, for the last time, the amphitheatre of Rome. The first Christian emperor may claim the honour of the first edict, which condemned the art and amusement of blood-

The gladiators  
abolished.

<sup>a</sup> See the constitution in Meuse's History of the Eastern Emperors, vol. II. The words are *gladiatores* and *causantia*, *luctantia*, *luctantia*, *luctantia*, &c.

<sup>b</sup> And the emperor, though he did not put an end to the gladiators, yet he put an end to the two kinds of the gladiators of Rome, viz. the *causantia* and the *luctantia*. See the constitution in Meuse's History of the Eastern Emperors, vol. II. p. 113. 114.

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ding human blood! but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand, victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, still exhibited, to the eyes of the Roman people, a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentius, a Christian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long raised the voice of humanity and religion.\* The pathetic representations of Persecutus were less effectual than the generous labours of Telesmachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life.† The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures: and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a shower of stones. But the coolness of the people soon subsided: they respected the memory of Tele-

\* *See Tacitus*, l. vi. c. 41, 42, 43, 44. The Commentary of Potho has several large marginalia drawn up, p. 210, in the library of the Vatican.

† See the persecution of Persecutus, in *Symeon*, l. ii. c. 1147-1211, who had suffered and the singular narrative of Eustachius Martyr, *Apocryphal*, v. 14, c. 220. The Christian apologists have not traced these bloody games, which were ascribed to the religious belief of paganism.

\* *See Tacitus*, l. vi. c. 42. I wish to believe the story of the Christian monk. Yet we cannot but form doubts, as after the long period of his imprisonment, who could survive in the state of humanity?

manly, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Hæmulus, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the antiquaries. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps imagine, that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in the school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, as easily confuted by the valour of modern Greece, and of modern Europe.

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The present danger, to which the person of the emperor had been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan, urged him to seek a retreat in some inaccessible fortress of Italy, where he might securely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of barbarians. On the coast of the Thesprotia, about ten or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of *Byzantium*, which they afterwards resigned to the natives of *Urania*. Asquith, who had

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<sup>14</sup>David Giddens is the author of *Industrial Society and the Future of the West* (London: Duckworth, 1984), pp. 11. Giddens (p. 12) has broadly conceived the subject and thereby defined the way in which modern social scientists interpret and define the changes in social development. "Social system, 19th century, the failure of a man."

[illegible]



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observed the opportunity of the place, prepared at the distance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ships of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenal and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet: the intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Augustus poured a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city, to the entrance of the harbour: the same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed, by a thousand subordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands; the communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass; and the artificial causeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be easily guarded, or destroyed, on the approach of an hostile army. These morasses were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed

A more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water.<sup>1</sup> The air, instead of receiving the sickly, and almost pestilential, exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular toils of the Hadriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the sea has left the modern city at the distance of four miles from the Hadriatic; and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards; and a lovely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor.<sup>2</sup> Even this alteration contributed to increase the natural strength of the place; and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the

<sup>1</sup> Martial (*Epigram.* lib. 10. 57) talks on the trick of the breeze, that had sold him wine bought at Rome; and his veracity deserves, not a notice in Ravenna, as some Valentinians think it should. Will the reader imagine, that the town is destitute of houses and aqueducts? And could the want of fresh water among the Mars hills, such as the stinking of flags, the stinking of goats, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The lake of Theodosius and Valentin, which Dryden has sometimes plagiarized from *Belshazzar*, (*Illustrations*, lib. second. 589.) was said to be the wound of Claudius, a corrupt word from Claudius, the great soldier, who, with the intention of making the Via Claudia, constituted the begining of Ravenna.

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West, anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and moorings of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered as the seat of government, and the capital of Italy.\*

The seven  
century of  
Goths.  
A. D. 400.

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse, that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall, was possessed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Siungpi, who were sometimes broken into independent tribes, and sometimes united under a supreme chief: till at length styling themselves *Topi*, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence; and a more formidable power. The *Topi* soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of

\* From the year 494, the date of the Theodosian Code, Ravenna was the seat of the exarchs, and the seat of the Gothic kings. See Godwin's History of the Kings, vol. 1, p. 148, &c.



their arms: they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord: and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the Tapa princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Mokeo, renowned for his valour; but who was tempted by the fear of punishment, to desert his standards, and to range the desert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of *Genghis*; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Mokeo the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the imperious yoke of the Tapa, and became the legislator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stung to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched, during

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the summer, on the fruitful banks of the Selenge. His conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Irtysh. He vanquished, in the country to the north of the Caspian sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the rank and power which he derived from this memorable victory.<sup>1</sup>

Stages  
and of the  
northern  
Germany,  
p. 75, 403.

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is continued, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese, and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians, and the experience of successive migrations, sufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the Gökturks, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the East were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic sea. The North must again have been alarmed, and agitated, by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of those regions,

<sup>1</sup> See *Major Hergens* *Hist. des Huns*, tom. 1, p. 178-180 & tom. 2, p. 276, 284-285.

<sup>2</sup> *Procopius* (de *Bell. Vandal.* l. 2, c. 16, p. 281) has observed an impression from the *Scythi* (Huns) in the north of Germany, which he attributes to the *Scythi*. But the story of distant history has strongly attracted the imagination and credence.

which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the resolution of *standing to the heights of Carthage*, their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.\* About four years after the victorious Teutlan had assumed the title of King of the Germans, another barbarian, the haughty Radoagast, or Radagaisus,† marched from the northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus, that, by some historians, he has been styled the King of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van; and the whole multitude, which was not less than

\* Zosimus l. v. p. 233 gives the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their manners, and constitution, is thus, *omnesque sunt viribus robusti, et in armis summe periti, et in equis summe periti, et in armis summe periti, et in equis summe periti.*

† The name of Radagast was that of a kind of wizard or sorcerer, but Radagaisus. A hero might naturally assume the epithet of a wizard, and it is not probable that the barbarians should have taken any such name. See Zosimus, Hist. of the Germans, lib. 14.

‡ *Germania antiqua*, p. 120, says the Goths, were a people of which does not carry any political idea. I suppose that they



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CONTINUATION.

two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones, to assault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts, and gigantic mounds,\* remained, during some ages, a vast and dreary solitude, till the human species was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now sweep an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

Ravenna

situated

Italy,

A. D. 408.

The correspondence of nations was, in that age, so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the north might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coast of the Baltic, burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the West, of his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of

\* See the poems and songs, with their faithful commentaries, the legends, with their legends, as they might have been applied to the events of the time.

\* Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 17.

the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion, and the spectator of the war.\* The safety of Rome was intrusted to the consuls, and the sword, of Stilicho; but such was the feeble and exhausted state of the empire, that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invasion of the Germans.† The hopes of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were rigorously exacted, and pusillanimously studied; employed the most efficacious means to arrest, or allure, the deserters; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the slaves who would enlist.‡ By these efforts, he painfully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by

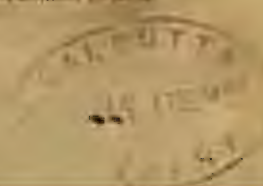
\* *Epist. ad. Theod.*  
\* *Epist. ad. Theod.*

† *Chron. ad. 400.*

‡ *Epist. ad. Theod.*

§ *Epist. ad. Theod.*

¶ *Epist. ad. Theod.*







eighty miles of Rome; and anxiously compared CHAP. XXX.  
the danger which they had escaped, with the  
new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric  
was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a dis-  
ciplined army: who understood the laws of war,  
who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who  
had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the  
empire in the same camps, and the same churches.  
The avenging Hadrian was a stranger to the man-  
ners, the religion, and even the language, of the  
civilized nations of the South. The fierceness of  
his temper was exasperated by equal superstition;  
and it was universally believed, that he had bound  
himself, by a solemn vow, to reduce the city into and think-  
ing him  
a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the  
most illustrious of the Romans senators, on the  
altars of their gods, who were appeased by hu-  
man blood. The public danger, which should  
have reconciled all domestic animosities, dis-  
played the invincible number of religious factions.  
The oppressed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury  
respected in the implacable enemy of Rome, the  
character of a devout pagan: loudly declared,  
that they were more apprehensive of the sacri-  
fices, than of the arms, of Hadrian; and se-  
cretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country,  
which condemned the faith of their Christian  
adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yet the Empire of Hadrian, who was a Pagan, and the War  
of Alaric, was very different from the Struggle of Constantine. The  
former including several of polytheism, and the latter involving  
the triumph of Christianity. The former was a contest of the  
pagan and the Christian, and the latter a contest of the Christian  
and the Christian.

CHAP. Florence was reduced to the last extremity; and the fainting courage of the citizens was supported only by the authority of St. Ambrose, who had communicated, in a dream, the promise of a speedy deliverance.\* On a sudden, they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city; and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the barbarian host. The apparent contradiction of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus, may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather than to the valour of man.† They strictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodshed; and positively affirm, that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the barbarians, slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Faesulae, which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion, that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may

\* Theodosius the VII. Addressed a long relation and story, "That he received from the mouth of Faustinus Imperial, a singular notice of Florence. Yet the probability may stand to have an entire part in the conduct of the world, and more, because a popular belief."

† Augustinus de Civitate Dei, l. vi. c. 25. Orosius p. vii. c. 25. p. 257. Theodosius, however, in Augustinus, states the fact as a miracle, and the victory was not a miracle, but a victory followed by a battle of the Christian army with the barbarians. These events, however, have never been mentioned in the present system, which is devoted to peace and justice.

be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Ammian and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the best army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it, in the open field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Caesar must have been familiar to the most illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrachium, which connected ten forty-four castles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine, and starve, the most numerous host of barbarians.\* The Roman troops had less degenerated from the industry, than from the valour, of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants, who would labour, though, perhaps, they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprisoned multitude of horses and

\* *Longæque moenia, plurimæque per omnes Caes.*

*Diuisæque, parietibus circum, turribus armatis.*

*Digressus circumdare pugis, circumque peritis.*

*Amplius etiam, sedis circumdare tropha.*

*Et circum, vallibus fœdæ interque circum.*

Yet the simplicity of terms (Caes., de Bell. Civ. lib. 80) is the proof that the simplification of Latin (Plaut. & c. 75-87).



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mun<sup>8</sup> was gradually destroyed by famine, rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general night sometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Ysaïus, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.<sup>1</sup> A reasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence; and the furnished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to conclude either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho.<sup>2</sup> But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and

<sup>1</sup> The historical argument of Ysaïus, "In annis septem, Roma a Gothis obsessa fuit," we will very readily allow to the composition of a great story. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp.

<sup>2</sup> The historical argument of Ysaïus, "In annis septem, Roma a Gothis obsessa fuit," we will very readily allow to the composition of a great story. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp. But Florentia, viz. Aquilina, from the neighbourhood of a great camp.

deliberate cruelty." The famished Germans, who escaped the fury of the anabaptists, were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold. (Not the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers: and it was observed that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruit of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their maintenance. Saliceti informed the emperor and the senate of his success: and reserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy."

The fame of the Victory, and more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Hattagades himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one-third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general. The ruin of such an army might excite our sor-

<sup>10</sup> "Faintly, power, animals, surface the land and people, And  
out the animals, with a symphony of songbirds. The birds  
lead to the darkness that the one blinding them."

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> A number of persons at President's Chamber, 12 June 1968, per  
diary entries, also present.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the attacks of 4 January  
and caused the killing of thirty, four, and twenty.

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XXX

prise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible: the pride of birth, the insolence of valour, the jealousy of command, the ingratiation of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms, between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general: but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care; and who sacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces.\* The barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country, and of the roads; and the invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus.†

\* Stilicho and Jerome positively charge him with instigating the barbarians. “*Exortans a barbaris gentes*,” &c. They must mean incorrectly. He stood fast in the strongest of them.

† The weight of the Host is believed, that the Germans were ordered that were the Gauls, and for the remainder of the army of Radagaisus. See the *Historia* of Jerome and Prosper of the Empire, tom. viii. p. 87. (M. Paris, 1771.) an old edition, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1785. See page 1771. I did not see the same



Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alamanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself, with peculiar attention, to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild, but distant exile, in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects, that they punished with death the turbulent Sundo, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes, who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho.\*

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*This agreement is a rough draught of the present history. I have not traced a private connection in History, vol. III. Such agreements, without mutual satisfaction, may still come to light in a thousand centuries.*

————— *Provinciae reges*  
*Republia etiam Imperii quos Franks reges*  
*Quos Imperii*

*Monks of Clugny, vol. I. c. 118, 119, And it may well satisfy you. That, like of Fulkon the emperor in the year of 1000; but the author of the book *Francorum reges* (vol. I. c. 118) and Marcomir, and Sundo, the king of the tribe of Pharamond, in the year 1000. He went to with some good materials, which he did not understand.*

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Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern invader, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals; who, regardless of the lessons of adversity, had again separated their troops from the standard of their barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness: and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigochus, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated, if the squadron of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks: who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march, and, on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.<sup>5</sup>

Abolition  
of Gaul,  
A. D. 457,  
&c.

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects of Rome, unen-

<sup>5</sup> See *Strabo*, l. vi. p. 342; *Orosius*, l. vi. c. 40, p. 476; and the *Chronicon*. Gregory of Tours l. ii. c. 25, p. 133. In the second volume of the *Histories of France* has preserved a valuable fragment of Roman antiquities, fragments, which these authors describe as *Antiquities*, a Roman subject, and a non-fiction.

scions of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their mountaineers penetrated, without fear or danger, into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood.\* The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses, and well cultivated farms: and if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt, on which side was situated the territory of the Romans.\* This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert: and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed: and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the western provinces of Gaul. That rich

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 2, 1, 211. Also in 1975, describing the police and prospects of the Berlin language. The latest *Stimmen* (Westphalen, 4, 1981), p. 178 would read differently. It appears a number of the *Stimmen* authors of this work participated in the founding of the Hellenic studies program beyond the Alps. Further evidence of the positive reception of the book and the *Stimmen* study may come in the form of a German translation, which is not prepared for the present edition. See also our introduction.

[illegible]



CHAP. and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the  
 XXX. Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the  
 barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars.<sup>1</sup> The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controversy,<sup>2</sup> which attempts to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy: the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted, with a train of moral and natural evils, was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes, and the misfortunes, of the suffering people, were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors: and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species. These idle

<sup>1</sup> *Idem* *ann.* l. p. 22. See in the *Index* of the *Memories of France*, p. 225, 226, the paper extracted from the *Carmen de Perditione* *propheta*, and *historia*. The anonymous poet was himself a spectator, with his bishop and other clergymen.

<sup>2</sup> The Pelagian heresies, which were first settled A. D. 402, were condemned, in the space of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. The Augustines taught and proscribed; but the Greek church was inaccessible to his influence; and what is singular enough the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand.

disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might recall the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded licence of spoil, to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose continual and insuperable obstacles to the progress of an invader; and the deficiency of the barbarians, in arms as well as in discipline, removed the only pretence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles V, he inquired of a prisoner, *How many days Paris might be distant from the frontier?* “*Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle.*”<sup>a</sup> Such was the gallant answer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius, and those of Francis I, were animated by a very different spirit; and in less than two years, the divided

<sup>a</sup> See the *Memories of Guillaume de Sallay*, l. vi. In French, the original expression is less obscure, and more pointed, from the double sense of the word *journey*, which also signifies, a day's travel, or a league.

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Available in  
the German  
Library  
A. B. 107.

troops of the savages of the Baltic, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had successfully guarded the remote island of Britain from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast.\* But those restless barbarians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Theodorus must have tended to disengage the bonds of allegiance, and to kindle the rebellious temper of the British army. The spirit of revolt, which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the soldiers, and the unfortunate, perhaps the amiable, exiles, who were the objects of their claims, were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion.† Marcio

[illegible]

<sup>7</sup> The British Library has added three further volumes, ff 16<sup>v</sup>, p. 379; 214<sup>r</sup>; 308<sup>v</sup>, ff 42<sup>v</sup> to 45<sup>v</sup>, p. 379; 377<sup>r</sup>. On September 5, 1968



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was the first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain, and of the West. They violated, by the hasty murder of Maxentius, the oath of fidelity which they had imposed on themselves; and their disapprobation of his manners may seem to inscribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Crispian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple: and, at the end of four months, Crispian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the church and to the empire, suggested the singular choice of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private soldier of the name of Constantine, and their importunate levity had already seated him on the throne, before they perceived his incapacity to sustain the weight of that glorious appellation.<sup>a</sup> Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarious, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of Marcus and of Crispian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps, which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition, urged him to attempt the reduction of the western provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconsiderable force; and after he had exposed himself some days, he summoned the cities

Constantine  
that is not  
known to be  
in the  
rank and  
Crispian  
A. D. 307.

<sup>a</sup> *Philostratus*, p. 285. 286. the ecclesiastical, however, and the Cyprian. The latter are legends of Maxentius.

<sup>b</sup> *Case by Constantine's Succession*. . . *Historical*, (Edinburgh, 1782) a pamphlet, 8vo, vol. 2, p. 185, with *anecdotes* of Maxentius. The history might be improved, by a fair account of legitimate claims, who had suggested his candidature.

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of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance; their actual distress encouraged them to accept any circumstances of change, without apprehension, and, perhaps, with some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves, that the troops of the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor, who fixed his residence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the barbarians. The first successes of Constantine against the detached parties of the Germans, were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories: which the ruinous and insensible of the enemy soon reduced to their just value. His negotiations procured a short and precarious truce; and if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promises, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigour of the Gallic frontier, served only to disgrace the majesty of the prince, and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated however with this imaginary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Savius the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily consumed in this domestic

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OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

quarrel. After the loss of his two bravest generals, Justinian and Nevigates, the former of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter is a peaceful but treacherous interview, Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked seven days; and the imperial army, supported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchasing a secure passage from the freshwaters and out into of the Alps.\* These mountains now separated the dominions of two rival monarchs: and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the incursions of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Constantine might be justified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain: which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and retrieved the laws and magistrates of the Gallic prefecture. The only opposition which was made to the authority of Constantine, proceeded not so much from the powers of government, or the spirit of the people, as from the private zeal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four brothers† had obtained

\* *Alpibus* is the name which Tacitus assigns to them; perhaps they derived a less distant character, see Tacitus, Hist. Colligat. tom. 1. p. 207, and the History, vol. 6. p. 111. We shall hear of them again.

† Maximus, Olympius, Thiodorus, and Lupulus, who, as we have seen, would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow subjects.





to determine a war, which had threatened the power and safety of Constantinople. The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees; two of the leaders of the good fortune to escape by sea to Italy, or the East; the other two, after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles: and if Theodosius could remain insensible of the public disaster, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortune of his generous kinsmen. Such were the straits and which decided the possession of the western provinces of Europe, from the walls of Antioch to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminished by the narrow and imperfect view of the historians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the causes, and of the effects, of that most important revolution. But the total decay of the national strength had annihilated even the feeble resources of despotic governments; and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and profligate people.

The poet, whose flattery has ascribed to the Romans, to the victories of Pollentius and Vermin, pursues the hasty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary spectres, such as might beset an army of barbarians, which was almost exterminated by war, famine, and disease.\* In the course of

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See the  
very  
early and  
partial  
edition,  
p. 12. 104.  
408

\* See the account of the  
fall of the empire, p. 104.

Edinburgh, at the house of the author, p. 104.

London, at the house of the author, p. 104.

London, at the house of the author, p. 104.

CHAP. this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths must indeed have sustained a considerable loss; and his harassed forces required an interval of repose to recruit their numbers, and revive their confidence. Adversity had exercised, and displayed, the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valour excited to the Gothic standard the bravest of the barbarian warriors; who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were agitated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho himself. Renouncing the service of the emperor of the East, Alaric concluded, with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the prefecture of Illyricum: as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the minister of Honorius.\* The execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated, or implied, in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irruption of Radagaisus: and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Cicerus, who, in the conspiracy of Catiline, refused either to assist, or to oppose, the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the East; appointed civil magistrates for the administration of justice,

\* These dark transactions are investigated by the *Constitutiones Imperiales*, and the *Præfatus de Illirico*, from which, according to the MSS., it appears that Stilicho was appointed master-general of the Roman armies.



and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead to the gates of Constantinople, the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, may countenance the suspicion, that domestic peace, rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy; and that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts; who protracted, like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual services. From his camp near Amora,<sup>a</sup> on the confines of Italy, he transmitted, to the emperor of the West, a long account of promises, of expences, and of demands; called for immediate satisfaction, and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet if his conduct was hostile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march, without delay, against the usurper of

<sup>a</sup> See Zosimus, l. vi, p. 334, 335. The manuscript has merely mentioned to relate the fall of Amora, and of the ship Argos, which was driven over board from that place to the Adriatic. - Scamozzi, (l. vii, c. 23) l. 16, n. 4, and Savarus, (l. vii, c. 46), treat a pale and doubtful subject; and Decker (l. vii, n. 26, p. 271) is extremely partial.

CHAP. VI. and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the latter nation, the possession of some vacant province of the western empire.

THE political and sacred transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, must for ever have been enshrouded by the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a prince, jealous of his prerogative, lost of weakness, was reduced to negotiate with its own subjects, had inevitably reversed the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Still he assembled the senate in the palace of the Cæsars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic King; and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the example, rather than by the wisdom, of their predecessors. They loudly declared, in regular speeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of slavery.

The minister, whose public intentions were scrutinised only by the voices of a few sycophants and casual followers, attempted to allay the general alarm, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince: "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the selfish light, either of a tribute, or of a ransom, extracted by the menaces of a barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople: he modestly required the rate and stipulated recompence of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed in his retreat, the imperious, though private, letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders (he would not disavow the errors of his own family) had been presented by the intercession of Severa. The tender pity of her life had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal household; the sense of her adopted father, and the sentiments of nature, had triumphantly prevailed over the stern dictates of the public safety." These reasonable reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Byzantium, were supported by the authority of Stilicho and Athaulf, after a warm debate, the respectful approbation of the senate. The triumph of virtue and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name



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of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; exclaimed with a loud voice,—"This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude;" and escaped the danger of such bold opposition by immediately retiring to the sanctuary of a Christian church.

Indignity  
of the  
palace,  
A. D. 406,  
May.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud minister might perceive the symptoms of his approaching disgrace. The generous boldness of Lampadius had been applauded; and the senate, so patiently resigned to a long servitude, rejected with disdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops, who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians; and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister, the public misfortunes, which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to leave the clamours of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. "The crafty Olympius,"

<sup>1</sup> *Stilicho*, l. vi. p. 528, 529. He reproaches the senate of Lampadius, saying, "non sibi, sed patri, et patrie servituti;" and thus promises them only Goths for the friends of the senate.

<sup>2</sup> *Stilicho* from the court of the Goths, had received a splendid offer, to employ his talents in the barbarian empire. His answer is well known.

who concealed his vices under the mask of Christian piety, had secretly undermined the benefactor, by whose favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight, or authority, in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eutharicus. The emperor was instigated, by his new favourite, to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find, that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his interest, or to his intentions. Instead of residing in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared, that it was his pleasure to return to the secure fortress of Ravenna. On the first intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to visit Constantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodosius.\* The representation of the diffi-

his character, which Zosimus (l. v. p. 220) compares with another personage. A fragment preserved the piety of Olympius, whom he styles a true son of the church (Bosworth, *Annals*, *Engl.*, A. D. 408, N. 12, &c.). Theodoret, *Mist. Pastor.* tom. viii. p. 461, 226. But these persons, while the Africans called an unworthy brother, might proceed, as well from ignorance, as from ambition.

\* Zosimus, l. v. p. 220, 222. Bosworth, l. vi. c. 2. It might be feared to undertake the journey to Constantinople, that he might direct Honorius from the vain attempt. The eastern emperor would not have stopped, and could not have been surprised.

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cult, and expense of such a distant expedition, checked this strange and sudden rally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of drawing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, and his barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed, by the advice of his confident Justinian, a Roman advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous, but ineffectual, efforts restrained the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the impending ruin of his patron.

Descent  
and Death  
of Stilicho.  
A. D. 408.  
Aug. 22.

In the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeased by the secret policy of Stilicho; who announced his instructions to debilitate the guilty, and ascribed to his own intercession the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embarked, for the last time, the minister whom he now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia; where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gothic war. On the evening of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, where the charlatan vials, and artificial dissensions, of Olympius had prepared to cover a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal, they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the em-



first, two praetorian prefects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two master-generals of the cavalry, and infantry; the master of the offices; the quaestor, the treasurer, and the count of the domestics. Many lives were lost; many houses were plundered: the furious collision continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of *Parma*, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his favourites: condemned the memory of the date; and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of *Parma* filled the mind of Stilicho with just and gloomy apprehensions: and he instantly summoned, in the camp of *Bolegna*, a council of the confederate leaders, who were attached to his service, and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the assembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under the banners of a hero, whom they had so often followed to victory; to surprise, to oppress, to exterminate the guilty *Olympus*, and his degenerate *Romans*; and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Instead of executing a resolution, which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irreversibly lost. He was still ignorant of the intent of the emperor; he distrusted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal consequences of arming a crowd of licentious barbarians, against the soldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of



COAT. his enormous and doubtful delay, hastily retired, with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight, Sarno, a Gothic warrior, encountered among the bishoprics themselves for his strength and valour, suddenly loaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Hans, who guarded his person, and penetrated to the tent, where the minister, passive and sleepless, meditated on the dangers of his situation. Stilicho escaped with difficulty from the sword of the Goths; and, after leaving a last and groans admission to the cities of Italy, to shut their gates against the barbarians, his confidence or his despair, urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had assumed the direction of Honorius, was speedily informed, that his rival had embraced, as a suppliant, the altar of the Christian church. The base and cruel disposition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or restraint; but he piously affected to shudder, rather than to debate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Merarian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared at the dawn of day, before the gates of the church of Ravenna. The bishop was satisfied, by a solemn oath, that the Imperial mandate only directed them to secure the person of Stilicho: but as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, he produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported, with calm resignation, the ignominious names of traitor and

parricide: repressed the unextinguishable zeal of his CHAP.  
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followers, who were ready to attempt an infer-  
nal revolt: and, with a firmness not unworthy  
of the last of the Roman generals, submitted his  
neck to the sword of Herculian.\*

The servile crowd of the palace, who had so long adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to His des-  
tiny was  
marked.  
insult his fall; and the most distant connection  
with the master-general of the West, which had  
so lately been a title to wealth and honours, was  
studiously denied, and rigorously punished. His  
family, united by a triple alliance with the fa-  
mily of Theodosius, might expect the condition of  
the meanest peasant. The birth of his son Eu-  
cherius was intercepted: and the death of that  
innocent youth soon followed the divorce of  
Thermantia, who filled the place of her sister  
Maria: and who, like Maria, had remained a  
virgin in the imperial bed. The friends of  
Stilicho, who had escaped the massacre of Prætor,  
were persecuted by the implacable revenge of  
Olympius: and the most impetuous cruelty  
was employed to extort the confession of a  
treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They  
died in silence: their innocence justified the

\* Zosimus, lib. ii. c. p. 266-271: but Zosimus's account is chiefly con-  
fined to the tragical end of Stilicho. (Olympianus, apud Pau-  
p. 117.) Herodian, lib. vi. c. 79, p. 276, 277: Socrates, lib. iii. c. 16,  
and Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 24, p. 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



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charge,\* and perhaps abused the innocence of their passion; and the despotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and stigmatise his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity. The services of Sullius are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was published in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupted by the *public enemy*.† The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, was accused of betraying Italy to the barbarians; whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius, could not have been conducted without propitiations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the

\* One of his friends was *historically* engaged, (Gibbon, l. vi. p. 389.) Pliny, added to his list of writers, and the great chamberlain, Despreaux. Sullius had married the barbarian; and it is not strange, that, under a false pretence, the barbarians were left able to accuse him.

† Chapter II. c. 28, p. 311, 312 seems to copy the false and false translation, which were allowed through the press, by our great writers.

‡ See the Translation ending l. vi. p. 389, sup. by l. vi. p. 389, which is the Sullius, he is loaded with the name of public pollution, which is a proof of his morality and virtue, according to the common sense.

humble smiling of tribute of the nation. Even the religion of Stillebo was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The remarkable, and almost miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the apostles of the clergy: who asserted, that the restoration of idols, and the persecution of the church, would have been the first measure of the reign of Earlewin. The son of Stillebo, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed, and zealously supported. Serona had borrowed her magnificent wedding from the statue of Vesta, and the pagans execrated the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sybilline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames.\* The pride and power of Stillebo constituted his real guilt. An honorable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen, appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival; and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not undervalued to reproach him with his

\* August's harvest is preceded with the offering here, which the Indians would make before the harvest, and which are only stored in the cave. The only temple at Ocotlán is a small building, (Chantoma, Acuña, *Flora de la Isla*, N. 100.

of *Phragmites* L. ex. p. 111. We were struck by the similarity of the  
infructing plant material with some *Phragmites* L. ex. p. 111.

[illegible]

CHAP. XXV.  
The poet Claudian.

have ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire.

Among the train of dependants, whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, our curiosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the imperial court: he was indebted to the powerful intercession of Severus for his marriage with a very rich heiress of the province of Africa;\* and the statue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.† After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unrelenting courtier, whom he had provoked by the madness of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two pretorian prefects of Italy; he contrasts the Emperor's repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps

\* At the request of the poets, an entire company of soldiers gave it, and the poet himself attended their recitation. Claudian had several poems, one heroic, and others, in various other metres, which were recited to them all. But he excelled in Latin, & wrote in that language. He lived in the reign of Honorius, and was a contemporary of Sidonius.

† Claudian took the laurel like a man, & he deserved it, as Gratian says, 402. The volume, interrupted, & unnumbered, of books, in the fifteenth century, in the name of Prosperus Lupus. The last line of a poem, he inscribed to Claudian, should have been printed, during his lifetime, by the care of his sons, his countrymen, and our contemporaries. It was a noble design!



to study; with the interested diligence of a religious scholar, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust, or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," exclaims Claudius, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy, if Maffius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!" The repose of Maffius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained, from the enemies of Stilichæ, the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet excused himself, however, during the interval of the revolution; and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble remittance to the offended potentate. He deplors, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; avows, as to the imitation of his adversary, the generous feelings of the eloquence of gods, of heroes, and of kings; and expresses his hope, that the augurine of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace.

4. See, e.g., *Id.* at 1003 n.10.

19. *Chrysomelidae* (Coleoptera): 1000

George F. Hart, 1948, 1951

Ammonia gas, which is readily evolved

Harris et al. / Journal of Interpersonal Violence 21(10)

Nauman was a Phoenician of Alexandria. In his early life he was a student of Theophrastus, with whom he lived. He was a friend of Aristotle. He composed some elegant dialogues on the Greek system of natural philosophy, which he gave Theophrastus. Opera 87-115.

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and poverty: and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends. Whatever might be the anxiety of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years involved in the grave the minister and the poet: but the name of Hadrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained or acquired the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either satisfy, or abate, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic: to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable: or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional panegyrics and invectives: and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the most, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar, topics: his colouring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and

\* See Claudian's *Non Epitheli*. They are some flowers, as they are here, and indignation between the sacred relations.

splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression; and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. To these immunities, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unavoidable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts, and of empire, a native of Egypt,\* who had received the education of a Greek, possessed, in a mature age, the familiar use, and absolute command, of the Latin language;† soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.‡

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\* *Stigmatalia* (family *Stigmataliidae*) is *Flabellina*, per se synonym. But the best synonym of *Cladonia* given here is a variety of *Alveolaria*, the fungus *Alveolaria* Laminaria, in p. 19, 1911, vol. 2, p. 1911.

\* The two Latin texts were completed during the summer of February, A. D. 1015.

Monitors without pressure, to monitor, *Anglo.*

179 *Barthelme's* *Leviathan* 19

Having some Greek songsters, which are all present, the ladies purchased some, to be given to the King of France, a beautiful Myiarchus, (size, 80. It is under 100 in length) the best of good poetry that of noblest of song.

\* *Amata* (*Parnassius*?) cf. *alpinus* but as outlined when the two larvae passed. Larvae of *Nymphalis*, *Colias*, and *Arctia*. The pattern is like a *Chrysochloa* or *Chrysobothris* Caterpillar. The caterpillar was *Chrysobothris* and *Chrysobothris*. Yet the slight outline resembles the *Chrysobothris* of *Chrysobothris*, which is not *Chrysobothris* at all.



## CHAP. XXXI.

*Evacuation of Italy by Alaric—Manners of the Roman  
nobles and people—Rome is twice besieged, and at  
length pillaged, by the Goths—Death of Alaric—The  
Goths evacuate Italy—Fall of Constantinople—East  
and Syria are occupied by the barbarians—Indepen-  
dence of Eusebius.*

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*W*  
*of the work*  
*of History*  
*vol. A. D.*  
*404, 405.*

THE impotency of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a treacherable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius.\* The king of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary, by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. Their active and increased hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Narms, his fame in arms, and his personal, or hereditary, influence over the confidence of the barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who despised, or detested, the worthless characters of Turpilis, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the personal

\* The interest of reality, from the death of Stilicho, to the death of Eusebius, is found in *History*, vol. A. D. 404, 405.



CEAR  
NENT

detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre and pillage, which everywhere, in promiscuous destruction, the families and fortunes of the barbarians. Exasperated by such an injury, which would have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they cast a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimously swore to pursue, with just and implacable war, the perfidious nation, that had so lately violated the laws of hospitality. By the independent conduct of the ministers of Honorius, the republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enemy, of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the scale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

A small  
consequence, in  
Rome,  
A. D. 408,  
Chap. 34.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war, the Gothic King maintained his superior ascendancy over an enemy, whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, degraded the hostile aspect of a barbarian conqueror, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Suleicho: to whose virtues, when they were no longer



formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere pride and regret. The pressing invitation of the miscontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain, that the imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold, which had been granted by the Roman senate, either to reward his services, or to appease his fury. His devout firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a full and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances, that as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless Etius and Jovin, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliver, in exchange, several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted, by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They declined either to negotiate a treaty, or to assemble an army: and, with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the exterior danger, indiscreetly wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in softest phrases, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; finally pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Alatum, Comauro, and Crennum, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of

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thirty thousand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the marsh which protected the impregnable residence of the emperor of the West. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, stretched his ravages along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hero, whose zeal and sanctity were respected by the barbarians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denominated the indignation of heaven against the oppressors of the earth: but the saint himself was confounded by the solemn asseveration of *Alaric*, that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. He felt, that his genius and his fortune were equal to the most ambitious enterprises: and the enthusiasm which he communicated to the Goths, immensely removed the popular, and almost superstitious, reverence of the nations for the majesty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flaminian way, occupied the ungarded passes of the Apennines,<sup>1</sup> descended into the rich plains of Umbria; and, as they lay encamped in the banks

<sup>1</sup> *See* *Adrianus in his Works*, vol. ii. p. 24. *Adrianus* has given a very particular description of the road through the Apennines. The Goths went not 12 hours to reach the houses of the country; but they were forced to follow the same distance, a circuitous passage which *Vasconius* had cut through the neck of the Apennine. *See* *Adrian*, vol. ii. p. 218, who greatly explains.

of the Clibanus, might wantonly slaughter and devour the milk-white oxen, which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman temples. A lofty atmosphere, and a seasonable tempest of thunder and lightning, preserved the little city of Narni: but the king of the Goths, despising this ignoble prey, still advanced with unabated vigour, and after he had passed through the stately arches, adorned with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.

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During a period of six hundred and thirteen years, the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy. The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal,\* served only to display the character of the senate and people of a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings, and of a people, to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources of the Hydra. Each of the senators, in the time of the Punic

Directed  
on the part  
of David

\* Please refer to Appendix A for details on variable definitions.

Persons were not paid for their work.

Dispersed in several places in the country.

Robert Eagle, most of the Little party, Popocatepetl, Lower, San Mateo, Huastla, Az. where passengers may be found in the improved A.M.T.M. Cars, and the wonderful scenery of the Sierrita.

<sup>1</sup> From 1860 to the south of Alaska has increased from the pouring of H. 1860 with the same growth, see Chandler, *U. S. Geol. Surv.* 194: 178. The maximum distance between Barrow and Bismarck was 225 miles in 1860. *Barrow, Washington*, p. 105.

4. The smooth and convex of Housfield as described by Levy, is not a  $\gamma$ -W. F. (cf. H<sub>2</sub>) and the module is made a generator of the corresponding module.

\* These comparisons were made by Quinn, the author of Pyschology (1974) (see also Green and Shyns, 1994) and have already been





but raising the siege of Capua, or recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the distance of three miles from the city: and he was soon informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his tent, was sold for an adequate price at a public auction: and that a body of troops was stationed by an opposite road, to relieve the legions of Spain.<sup>2</sup> He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him: but Hannibal shuddered the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to escape, unless he destroyed the last of his enemies: and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From the time of the Punic war, the uninterrupted succession of senators had preserved the name and image of the republic: and the degenerate subjects of Honorius ambitiously derived their descent from the heroes who had repulsed the arms of Hannibal, and subdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honours, which the *deposed* *Paula* inherited and despised, are carefully recapitulated by Jerome, the guide of her conscience, and the historian of her life. The

Grounding  
of the  
bottom.

\* I suppose there was too muchness in the efforts, and of course  
and success. I suspect that they were both overruled by the general  
policy of the Senate.

[illegible]

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genealogy of her father, Regatius, which ascended as high as Agamemnon, might seem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Blasilla, numbered the Scipios, Aemilius Paulus, and the Gracchi, in the list of her ancestors; and Tiberius, the husband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who desired to be noble, was gratified by these lofty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they easily imposed on the credulity of the vulgar; and were countenanced, in some measure, by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illustrious families. Most of these families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated: and it would be more reasonable to seek for a lineal descent of twenty generations, among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful solitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, rising to eminence by their talents or their vices, usurped the wealth, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppressed, or protected, the poor and humble remains of consular families; who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their ancestors.\*

\* Tacitus, *Annals* lib. iii. observes, that the neighbourhood of Aquileia and the reign of Vespasian, the senate was gradually filled with new families from the provinces and colonies of Italy.



In the time of Seneca and Claudian, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a slight view of *their* history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families, which contended only for the second place.\* During the five first ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Praeneste; and the ambition of those new citizens was long satisfied with the plebeian honours of tribunes of the people.† One hundred and sixty-eight years before the Christian era, the family was ennobled by the pretorship of Anicinus, who gloriously terminated the Illyrian war by the conquest of the nation, and the captivity of their king.‡ From the triumph of that general, three consulships, in distant periods, mark the succession of the Anician name.§ From the reign of Diocle-

ERAB.  
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The An-  
cian fa-  
mily.

*Non quæquid Procerum debet Censui recedere  
Plebs, et clavis oligarum Roma manet;  
Sed iustis pariter et populi voce refutâ  
Statuunt, et Jura sua prætere veniunt.*

Cluid. in *Vita* of *Olybri* *Cæs.* 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obscure name of the *Anicini*, has seemed the authors; but they all agree, that what we may be the true meaning, the word of *Cluidius* can be applied only to the Anician family.

\* The earliest date in the empire of *Pigritius*, is that of M. Anicinus *Calvus*, *Tit.* *Pl.* A. U. C. 308. Another *truncus*, Q. Anicinus, A. U. C. 308, is distinguished by the epithet of *Pyromachus*. *Livy* 10, 48 places the *Anici* below the great families of *Rome*.

† *Livy*, 10, 48. 31. 41. 42, 43, 44. He fully expresses the merit of Anicinus, and justly observes, that his time was divided by the unequal lot of the *Macedonians*, which period the *Illyrian*, 10, 44.

‡ The dates of the three consulships are, A. U. C. 303, 318, 367; but the last under the reign of *Nero* and *Calpurnia*. The second of these

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time to the final extinction of the western empire, that man shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation, by the majesty of the imperial purple? The several branches to whom it was communally united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Anicii, the Petronii, and the Olybrii houses; and in each generation the number of consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim. The Anician family exalted to faith and to riches: they were the first of the Roman senators who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards consul and prefect of the city, stoned for his attachment to the party of Magentius, by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine.<sup>3</sup> Their ample patrimony was increased by the in-

their records themselves, as well as by his personal history, *Quint. Metellus*, vi. 111. For want of evidence of ancient Italy, the stamp of greatness and nobility, is admitted without reference to prove the grandeur of a noble house.

<sup>3</sup> In the sixth century, the history of the Anician family is continued; *Procopius*, *Wars*, l. ii. Ep. 10, 11, with singular respect by the emperor of a Gothic king of Italy.

— *Prætor* is common  
Consulatus prætoris honore, æquumque prætoris  
ille et prætoris, consul et prætoris  
Prætoris prætoris, prætoris prætoris  
Prætoris prætoris, prætoris prætoris

Christian is *Prætor*, at *Olybri*, *Consul*, l. ii. *Ani*. The *Ani*, *Prætor* seems to have belonged to the Anician, since the *Prætor* with many consulships, lived the time of *Verginius* to the fourth century.

<sup>4</sup> The *Prætor* of *Christus* seems to be justified by the history of *Procopius*, *Wars*, l. ii. 127, and the list of the names of the Anician family. See *Talbot*, *How the Anician*, *Wars*, l. ii. p. 122, v. p. 44. *Wars*, *Ani*, l. ii. 122, v. p. 78, l. ii. 122, v. p. 8.





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ROMAN DECAY.

aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty houses, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens.\* Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet: that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city: since it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be subservient either to use or luxury: markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, shady groves, and artificial aviaries.† The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths,‡ continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling: without computing the stated prodigium of corn and wine, which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one-third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth,

\* See Strabo, *Roma Antica*, p. 92, 928, 1100.

† *Quid quare totius orbis imperium effugerit?*

*Veneris quæ vobis cunctis habitabit.*

*Quæ, Romæ, Norimæ Imperii tibi, &c.*

The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invasion. A moderate palace would have formed Constantine's farm of four acres (*Val. Max.* iv. 4). In *Isidore's* days, certainly, says *Strabo*, Epist. 124. See a fabulous poem of Mr. Hume, *Stanzas*, vol. i. p. 162, for two others.

‡ The last state of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is fixed in a fragment of the historian Olympiodorus, de *Theodosio* p. 181.

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an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorial rank, which required many expences of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles, who celebrated the year of their pretorship by a festival, which lasted seven days, and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.\* The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean seas, to the most distant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Asian victory, was the property of the devout Paula;† and it is

\* The case of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, spent, during their respective pretorships, twelve, or twenty, or forty millions, or hundred millions of sesterces. See Olynthodorus Pagan p. 181. This popular estimation allows some latitude; but it is difficult to express a few in the *Thesaurus Code*, (l. vi. cap. 35, which fixes the expense of the first year at 25,000, of the second at 50,000, and of the third at 15,000 sesterces. The sum of fully one thousand sesterces due to a pretor, *l. de actione*, p. 177) was equally applied to a year of 125 days of office, and is a small upper rate of the value of every part of that year. In the former case, the 125,000 sesterces would be equal to 125,000*l.* in the latter to 12*l.* or 12 pounds sterling. The sum appears extravagant, the other is reasonable. There must have existed some third, and middle value, which is here unobtainable but not guilty is an unobtainable fact in the language of law.

† *Symmachus*, . . . in *Antiquitates* (where the pretorship estate was given) 147. *Maximus*, in *Antiquitates*, in *Epistola* 147. *Thesaurus Code*, l. 6, p. 742. See the *Thesaurus* (supra), sufficiently enough, that it was part of a pretor's inheritance. *Maximus*, *Antiquitates*, l. 147.

CHAR.  
XXV.

observed by Seneca, that the rivers which had divided hostile nations, now flowed through the lands of private citizens.\* According to their temper and circumstances, the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their slaves, or granted for a certain and stipulated rent, to the industrious farmer. The ecclesiastical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method, whenever it may be practicable; but if the object should be removed by its distance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the master, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the soil, and interested in the produce, to the mercenary administration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, steward†.

Then  
the  
nobles.

The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never excited by the pursuit of military glory, and seldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the lawless and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in con-

\* Seneca, *Epist. lxxviii.* His language is of the declamatory kind; but philosophically much more correct, than the practice and policy of the Romans. The philosopher himself observed upon this of the republic, 'ut si forte esset una viginti civitas de Quiritibus, forte tres essent, thousand men, which he had lost at each battle, provided a solution to Britain. *Britan. Caesar. l. i. c. 12.* According to the inscription of Geta, *Ad Antoninæ Idemque in Briton. p. 122.* the same Phalaris possessed an estate near Bith, in western, and another in the kingdom of Naxos.

† Thomas, a wealthy noble, *Chart. Acad. 46.* 12th century possessed thirty four in the island. Columbus who arrived there during John's reign, agrees very judiciously on the subject. Dr. V. Boscovich, *l. i. c. 1.* p. 428, and, Orosius, *l. v. c. 17.*



frequent; but the sumptuousness, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimony, and multiplied their slaves, by the lucrative practice of usury; and the obsolete laws were eluded, or evaded, by the mutual inclinations and interest of both parties.\* A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and silver plate; and there were many sideboards in the time of Pliny, which contained more solid silver, than had been transported by Sardin from vanquished Carthage.† The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in prodigal luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth; and till in a constant train of dissipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniences of life, which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has diffused more real comforts among the modern

\* Valerius and Ammian. (ii. 6) has proved, from Cypriacus, that Augustus, that the senators were not allowed to lend money at usury. But it appears from the Testament of Cato, and Suetonius ad l. 4. 14. that he said it is a tradition, that they were permitted to lend at one cent. or one hundred of the legal interest; and, what is quite singular, this permission was granted to the poor senators.

† The Hist. Nove, l. 12. c. 24. The mass of silver at only 4200 pounds, which is measured by Livy (lxx. 45) to 400,000; the summe seems too little for so great city. The later historians for 400,000 were reckoned.

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nations of Europe, than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury.\* Their luxury, and their manners, have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition: but as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invasion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire, as the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events, a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve the asperity of censure, the shake of circumstances, or the style of expression: he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and personal resentments, which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome!†

\* The ancient expression (Titled of Augustus, Lib. 9. 120) has suggested, with propriety, and I believe with truth, that Augustus and his first wife, was a skirt in his coat. Under the Roman empire, the use of linen and glass became considerable, more common.

† It is incumbent on me to declare the liberality which I have shown with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have omitted down here one page the story of the death of the emperor, and the death of the emperor's daughter. 2. I have given notice and permission to the publisher of the edition. 3. I have omitted some passages, particularly, all that was very much superfluous of the style. 4. I have also omitted some observations which were superfluous, and have expressed them in a more concise manner. My remarks will be found, not that they are just, but useful and true.

" The greatness of Rome (such is the lan- CHAP.  
 " guage of the historians) was founded on the XXXI.  
 " rare, and almost incredible, alliance of virtue Character  
 " and of fortune. The long period of her in- of the Ro-  
 " fancy was employed in a laborious struggle man re-  
 " against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and lics, by  
 " enemies of the rising city. In the strength and Appianus  
 " ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of Liv.  
 " war; vaulted her victorious arms beyond the II. 2.  
 " seas and the mountains; and brought home  
 " triumphant laurels from every country of the  
 " globe. At length, verging towards old age,  
 " and sometimes conquering by the terror only  
 " of her arms, she sought the blessings of peace  
 " and tranquillity. The venerable city,  
 " which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest  
 " nations: and established a system of laws, the  
 " perpetual guardians of justice and freedom;  
 " was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to  
 " devolve on the Cæsars, her favourite sons, the  
 " care of governing her ample patrimony." A  
 " serene and profound peace, such as had been  
 " once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded  
 " to the tumults of a republic: while Rome was  
 " still adored as the queen of the earth: and the  
 " subject nations still revered the name of the  
 " people, and the majesty of the senate. But

\* Claudius, who seems to have said the Muses of domestic  
 " words of still great consolation to a man and country.

From the joys of a domestic life  
 The Muses of domestic life  
 The Muses of domestic life  
 The Muses of domestic life

The Muses of domestic life



CHAP. — this native splendour continues Annamites  
 XXXI — degraded, and soiled, by the contact of more  
 Europeans — nobles: who, unmindful of their own dignity,  
 — and of that of their country, assume an un-  
 — cedant of vice and folly. They contend with  
 — each other in the empty vanity of titles and  
 — assumptions; and curiously select, or invent, the  
 — most lofty and sonorous appellations, Rebe-  
 — run, or Fulminius, Pagonius, or Tarravus,\*  
 — which may impress the ears of the vulgar with  
 — astonishment and respect. From a vain  
 — notion of perpetuating their memory, they  
 — collect to multiply their likenesses, in statues of  
 — bronze and marble: nor are they satisfied,  
 — unless these statues are covered with plates of  
 — gold: an honourable distinction, first granted  
 — to Asinius the consul, after he had saluted, by  
 — his arms and counsels, the power of king  
 — Agrippa. The ostentation of displaying, of  
 — magnifying, perhaps, the rent-roll of the estates  
 — which they possess in all the provinces, from  
 — the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just  
 — resentment of every man, who recollects, that  
 — their poor and invincible ancestors were not  
 — distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers,  
 — by the delicacy of their food, or the splendour

\* The names *Agrippa* and *Asinius* have not been able to settle themselves very firmly. I am inclined to think that they were borrowed by the Romans from the Jews, who were much of the same kind of people. It is evident, however, that the names *Agrippa* and *Asinius* of the Romans were probably borrowed from the soldiers of the Jews, who were much of the same kind of people. I am inclined to think that they were borrowed by the Romans from the Jews, who were much of the same kind of people. I am inclined to think that they were borrowed by the Romans from the Jews, who were much of the same kind of people.

of their apparel. But the modern nobles more  
 are their rank and consequence according to  
 the loftiness of their chariots,\* and the weighty  
 magnificence of their dress. Their long robes  
 of silk and purple float in the wind; and as  
 they are agitated, by art or accident, they  
 occasionally discover the under garments, the  
 rich tunics, embroidered with the figures of  
 various animals. Followed by a train of  
 fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement,  
 they move along the streets with the same  
 impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-  
 horses; and the example of the senators is  
 boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies,  
 whose covered carriages are continually driving  
 round the immense space of the city and sub-  
 urbs. Whenever these persons of high distinc-  
 tion embarked to visit the public baths, they  
 noised, on their entrance, a noise of loud and

\* The chariots, or coaches, of the Romans, were either of gold  
 silver, curiously carved and engraved; and the trappings of the horses,  
 or harness, were adorned with gold. This magnificence continued  
 down the reign of Nero, so that at Rome they said the Appian way  
 was covered with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came  
 to hear the gladiators, when they returned to Rome, on their battle the  
 Capitol steps, *omnesque exierunt*. *Flav. Hist. Roman.* lib. 14.  
*Probus. Tacitus, annal. Roman.* lib. 15. c. 44. The  
 usage is still preserved by the Romans; and it still remains  
 that the gladiators, at least, participate in the water or position  
 of gladiators, which called on the nobles, and were exposed, for the  
 whole party, to the indignity of the water.

† As a history of Accursius history of Rome, *Mo. de X. and his*  
*historical and Accursius, lib. 1. c. 1. c. 2. c. 3. c. 4. c. 5. c. 6. c. 7. c. 8. c. 9. c. 10. c. 11. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100. c. 101. c. 102. c. 103. c. 104. c. 105. c. 106. c. 107. c. 108. c. 109. c. 110. c. 111. c. 112. c. 113. c. 114. c. 115. c. 116. c. 117. c. 118. c. 119. c. 120. c. 121. c. 122. c. 123. c. 124. c. 125. c. 126. c. 127. c. 128. c. 129. c. 130. c. 131. c. 132. c. 133. c. 134. c. 135. c. 136. c. 137. c. 138. c. 139. c. 140. c. 141. c. 142. c. 143. c. 144. c. 145. c. 146. c. 147. c. 148. c. 149. c. 150. c. 151. c. 152. c. 153. c. 154. c. 155. c. 156. c. 157. c. 158. c. 159. c. 160. c. 161. c. 162. c. 163. c. 164. c. 165. c. 166. c. 167. c. 168. c. 169. c. 170. c. 171. c. 172. c. 173. c. 174. c. 175. c. 176. c. 177. c. 178. c. 179. c. 180. c. 181. c. 182. c. 183. c. 184. c. 185. c. 186. c. 187. c. 188. c. 189. c. 190. c. 191. c. 192. c. 193. c. 194. c. 195. c. 196. c. 197. c. 198. c. 199. c. 200. c. 201. c. 202. c. 203. c. 204. c. 205. c. 206. c. 207. c. 208. c. 209. c. 210. c. 211. c. 212. c. 213. c. 214. c. 215. c. 216. c. 217. c. 218. c. 219. c. 220. c. 221. c. 222. c. 223. c. 224. c. 225. c. 226. c. 227. c. 228. c. 229. c. 230. c. 231. c. 232. c. 233. c. 234. c. 235. c. 236. c. 237. c. 238. c. 239. c. 240. c. 241. c. 242. c. 243. c. 244. c. 245. c. 246. c. 247. c. 248. c. 249. c. 250. c. 251. c. 252. c. 253. c. 254. c. 255. c. 256. c. 257. c. 258. c. 259. c. 260. c. 261. c. 262. c. 263. c. 264. c. 265. c. 266. c. 267. c. 268. c. 269. c. 270. c. 271. c. 272. c. 273. c. 274. c. 275. c. 276. c. 277. c. 278. c. 279. c. 280. c. 281. c. 282. c. 283. c. 284. c. 285. c. 286. c. 287. c. 288. c. 289. c. 290. c. 291. c. 292. c. 293. c. 294. c. 295. c. 296. c. 297. c. 298. c. 299. c. 300. c. 301. c. 302. c. 303. c. 304. c. 305. c. 306. c. 307. c. 308. c. 309. c. 310. c. 311. c. 312. c. 313. c. 314. c. 315. c. 316. c. 317. c. 318. c. 319. c. 320. c. 321. c. 322. c. 323. c. 324. c. 325. c. 326. c. 327. c. 328. c. 329. c. 330. c. 331. c. 332. c. 333. c. 334. c. 335. c. 336. c. 337. c. 338. c. 339. c. 340. c. 341. c. 342. c. 343. c. 344. c. 345. c. 346. c. 347. c. 348. c. 349. c. 350. c. 351. c. 352. c. 353. c. 354. c. 355. c. 356. c. 357. c. 358. c. 359. c. 360. c. 361. c. 362. c. 363. c. 364. c. 365. c. 366. c. 367. c. 368. c. 369. c. 370. c. 371. c. 372. c. 373. c. 374. c. 375. c. 376. c. 377. c. 378. c. 379. c. 380. c. 381. c. 382. c. 383. c. 384. c. 385. c. 386. c. 387. c. 388. c. 389. c. 390. c. 391. c. 392. c. 393. c. 394. c. 395. c. 396. c. 397. c. 398. c. 399. c. 400. c. 401. c. 402. c. 403. c. 404. c. 405. c. 406. c. 407. c. 408. c. 409. c. 410. c. 411. c. 412. c. 413. c. 414. c. 415. c. 416. c. 417. c. 418. c. 419. c. 420. c. 421. c. 422. c. 423. c. 424. c. 425. c. 426. c. 427. c. 428. c. 429. c. 430. c. 431. c. 432. c. 433. c. 434. c. 435. c. 436. c. 437. c. 438. c. 439. c. 440. c. 441. c. 442. c. 443. c. 444. c. 445. c. 446. c. 447. c. 448. c. 449. c. 450. c. 451. c. 452. c. 453. c. 454. c. 455. c. 456. c. 457. c. 458. c. 459. c. 460. c. 461. c. 462. c. 463. c. 464. c. 465. c. 466. c. 467. c. 468. c. 469. c. 470. c. 471. c. 472. c. 473. c. 474. c. 475. c. 476. c. 477. c. 478. c. 479. c. 480. c. 481. c. 482. c. 483. c. 484. c. 485. c. 486. c. 487. c. 488. c. 489. c. 490. c. 491. c. 492. c. 493. c. 494. c. 495. c. 496. c. 497. c. 498. c. 499. c. 500. c. 501. c. 502. c. 503. c. 504. c. 505. c. 506. c. 507. c. 508. c. 509. 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c. 635. c. 636. c. 637. c. 638. c. 639. c. 640. c. 641. c. 642. c. 643. c. 644. c. 645. c. 646. c. 647. c. 648. c. 649. c. 650. c. 651. c. 652. c. 653. c. 654. c. 655. c. 656. c. 657. c. 658. c. 659. c. 660. c. 661. c. 662. c. 663. c. 664. c. 665. c. 666. c. 667. c. 668. c. 669. c. 670. c. 671. c. 672. c. 673. c. 674. c. 675. c. 676. c. 677. c. 678. c. 679. c. 680. c. 681. c. 682. c. 683. c. 684. c. 685. c. 686. c. 687. c. 688. c. 689. c. 690. c. 691. c. 692. c. 693. c. 694. c. 695. c. 696. c. 697. c. 698. c. 699. c. 700. c. 701. c. 702. c. 703. c. 704. c. 705. c. 706. c. 707. c. 708. c. 709. c. 710. c. 711. c. 712. c. 713. c. 714. c. 715. c. 716. c. 717. c. 718. c. 719. c. 720. c. 721. c. 722. c. 723. c. 724. c. 725. c. 726. c. 727. c. 728. c. 729. c. 730. c. 731. c. 732. c. 733. c. 734. c. 735. c. 736. c. 737. c. 738. c. 739. c. 740. c. 741. c. 742. c. 743. c. 744. c. 745. c. 746. c. 747. c. 748. c. 749. c. 750. c. 751. c. 752. c. 753. c. 754. c. 755. c. 756. c. 757. c. 758. c. 759. c. 760. c. 761. c. 762. c. 763. c. 764. c. 765. c. 766. c. 767. c. 768. c. 769. c. 770. c. 771. c. 772. c. 773. c. 774. c. 775. c. 776. c. 777. c. 778. c. 779. c. 780. c. 781. c. 782. c. 783. c. 784. c. 785. c. 786. c. 787. c. 788. c. 789. c. 790. c. 791. c. 792. c. 793. c. 794. c. 795. c. 796. c. 797. c. 798. c. 799. c. 800. c. 801. c. 802. c. 803. c. 804. c. 805. c. 806. c. 807. c. 808. c. 809. c. 810. c. 811. c. 812. c. 813. c. 814. c. 815. c. 816. c. 817. c. 818. c. 819. c. 820. c. 821. c. 822. c. 823. c. 824. c. 825. c. 826. c. 827. c. 828. c. 829. c. 830. c. 831. c. 832. c. 833. c. 834. c. 835. c. 836. c. 837. c. 838. c. 839. c. 840. c. 841. c. 842. c. 843. c. 844. c. 845. c. 846. c. 847. c. 848. c. 849. c. 850. c. 851. c. 852. c. 853. c. 854. c. 855. c. 856. c. 857. c. 858. c. 859. c. 860. c. 861. c. 862. c. 863. c. 864. c. 865. c. 866. c. 867. c. 868. c. 869. c. 870. c. 871. c. 872. c. 873. c. 874. c. 875. c. 876. c. 877. c. 878. c. 879. c. 880. c. 881. c. 882. c. 883. c. 884. c. 885. c. 886. c. 887. c. 888. c. 889. c. 890. c. 891. c. 892. c. 893. c. 894. c. 895. c. 896. c. 897. c. 898. c. 899. c. 900. c. 901. c. 902. c. 903. c. 904. c. 905. c. 906. c. 907. c. 908. c. 909. c. 910. c. 911. c. 912. c. 913. c. 914. c. 915. c. 916. c. 917. c. 918. c. 919. c. 920. c. 921. c. 922. c. 923. c. 924. c. 925. c. 926. c. 927. c. 928. c. 929. c. 930. c. 931. c. 932. c. 933. c. 934. c. 935. c. 936. c. 937. c. 938. c. 939. c. 940. c. 941. c. 942. c. 943. c. 944. c. 945. c. 946. c. 947. c. 948. c. 949. c. 950. c. 951. c. 952. c. 953. c. 954. c. 955. c. 956. c. 957. c. 958. c. 959. c. 960. c. 961. c. 962. c. 963. c. 964. c. 965. c. 966. c. 967. c. 968. c. 969. c. 970. c. 971. c. 972. c. 973. c. 974. c. 975. c. 976. c. 977. c. 978. c. 979. c. 980. c. 981. c. 982. c. 983. c. 984. c. 985. c. 986. c. 987. c. 988. c. 989. c. 990. c. 991. c. 992. c. 993. c. 994. c. 995. c. 996. c. 997. c. 998. c. 999. c. 1000. c. 1001. c. 1002. c. 1003. c. 1004. c. 1005. c. 1006. c. 1007. c. 1008. c. 1009. c. 1010. c. 1011. c. 1012. c. 1013. c. 1014. c. 1015. c. 1016. c. 1017. c. 1018. c. 1019. c. 1020. c. 1021. c. 1022. c. 1023. c. 1024. c. 1025. c. 1026. c. 1027. c. 1028. c. 1029. c. 1030. c. 1031. c. 1032. c. 1033. c. 1034. c. 1035. c. 1036. c. 1037. c. 1038. c. 1039. c. 1040. c. 1041. c. 1042. c. 1043. c. 1044. c. 1045. c. 1046. c. 1047. c. 1048. c. 1049. c. 1050. c. 1051. c. 1052. c. 1053. c. 1054. c. 1055. c. 1056. c. 1057. c. 1058. c. 1059. c. 1060. c. 1061. c. 1062. c. 1063. c. 1064. c. 1065. c. 1066. c. 1067. c. 1068. c. 1069. c. 1070. c. 1071. c. 1072. c. 1073. c. 1074. c. 1075. c. 1076. c. 1077. c. 1078. c. 1079. c. 1080. c. 1081. c. 1082. c. 1083. c. 1084. c. 1085. c. 1086. c. 1087. c. 1088. c. 1089. c. 1090. c. 1091. c. 1092. c. 1093. c. 1094. c. 1095. c. 1096. c. 1097. c. 1098. c. 1099. c. 1100. c. 1101. c. 1102. c. 1103. c. 1104. c. 1105. c. 1106. c. 1107. c. 1108. c. 1109. c. 1110. c. 1111. c. 1112. c. 1113. c. 1114. c. 1115. c. 1116. c. 1117. c. 1118. c. 1119. c. 1120. c. 1121. c. 1122. c. 1123. c. 1124. c. 1125. c. 1126. c. 1127. c. 1128. c. 1129. c. 1130. c. 1131. c. 1132. c. 1133. c. 1134. c. 1135. c. 1136. c. 1137. c. 1138. c. 1139. c. 1140. c. 1141. c. 1142. c. 1143. c. 1144. c. 1145. c. 1146. c. 1147. c. 1148. c. 1149. c. 1150. c. 1151. c. 1152. c. 1153. c. 1154. c. 1155. c. 1156. c. 1157. c. 1158. c. 1159. c. 1160. c. 1161. c. 1162. c. 1163. c. 1164. c. 1165. c. 1166. c. 1167. c. 1168. c. 1169. c. 1170. c. 1171. c. 1172. c. 1173. c. 1174. c. 1175. c. 1176. c. 1177. c. 1178. c. 1179. c. 1180. c. 1181. c. 1182. c. 1183. c. 1184. c. 1185. c. 1186. c. 1187. c. 1188. c. 1189. c. 1190. c. 1191. c. 1192. c. 1193. c. 1194. c. 1195. c. 1196. c. 1197. c. 1198. c. 1199. c. 1200. c. 1201. c. 1202. c. 1203. c. 1204. c. 1205. c. 1206. c. 1207. c. 1208. c. 1209. c. 1210. c. 1211. c. 1212. c. 1213. c. 1214. c. 1215. c. 1216. c. 1217. c. 1218. c. 1219. c. 1220. c. 1221. c. 1222. c. 1223. c. 1224. c. 1225. c. 1226. c. 1227. c. 1228. c. 1229. c. 1230. c. 1231. c. 1232. c. 1233. c. 1234. c. 1235. c. 1236. c. 1237. c. 1238. c. 1239. c. 1240. c. 1241. c. 1242. c. 1243. c. 1244. c. 1245. c. 1246. c. 1247. c. 1248. c. 1249. c. 1250. c. 1251. c. 1252. c. 1253. c. 1254. c. 1255. c. 1256. c. 1257. c. 1258. c. 1259. c. 1260. c. 1261. c. 1262. c. 1263. c. 1264. c. 1265. c. 1266. c. 1267. c. 1268. c. 1269. c. 1270. c. 1271. c. 1272. c. 1273. c. 1274. c. 1275. c. 1276. c. 1277. c. 1278. c. 1279. c. 1280. c. 1281. c. 1282. c. 1283. c. 1284. c. 1285. c. 1286. c. 1287. c. 1288. c. 1289. c. 1290. c. 1291. c. 1292. c. 1293. c. 1294. c. 1295. c. 1296. c. 1297. c. 1298. c. 1299. c. 1300. c. 1301. c. 1302. c. 1303. c. 1304. c. 1305. c. 1306. c. 1307. c. 1308. c. 1309. c. 1310. c. 1311. c. 1312. c. 1313. c. 1314. c. 1315. c. 1316. c. 1317. c. 1318. c. 1319. c. 1320. c. 1321. c. 1322. c. 1323. c. 1324. c. 1325. c. 1326. c. 1327. c. 1328. c. 1329. c. 1330. c. 1331. c. 1332. c. 1333. c. 1334. c. 1335. c. 1336. c. 1337. c. 1338. c. 1339. c. 1340. c. 1341. c. 1342. c. 1343. c. 1344. c. 1345. c. 1346. c. 1347. c. 1348. c. 1349. c. 1350. c. 1351. c. 1352. c. 1353. c. 1354. c. 1355. c. 1356. c. 1357. c. 1358. c. 1359. c. 1360. c. 1361. c. 1362. c. 1363. c. 1364. c. 1365. c. 1366. c. 1367. c. 1368. c. 1369. c. 1370. c. 1371. c. 1372. c. 1373. c. 1374. c. 1375. c. 1376. c. 1377. c. 1378. c. 1379. c. 1380. c. 1381. c. 1382. c. 1383. c. 1384. c. 1385. c. 1386. c. 1387. c. 1388. c. 1389. c. 1390. c. 1391. c. 1392. c. 1393. c. 1394. c. 1395. c. 1396. c. 1397. c. 1398. c. 1399. c. 1400. c. 1401. c. 1402. c. 1403. c. 1404. c. 1405. c. 1406. c. 1407. c. 1408. c. 1409. c. 1410. c. 1411. c. 1412. c. 1413. c. 1414. c. 1415. c. 1416. c. 1417. c. 1418. c. 1419. c. 1420. c. 1421. c. 1422. c. 1423. c. 1424. c. 1425. c. 1426. c. 1427. c. 1428. c. 1429. c. 1430. c. 1431. c. 1432. c. 1433. c. 1434. c. 1435. c. 1436. c. 1437. c. 1438. c. 1439. c. 1440. c. 1441. c. 1442. c. 1443. c. 1444. c. 1445. c. 1446. c. 1447. c. 1448. c. 1449. c. 1450. c. 1451. c. 1452. c. 1453. c. 1454. c. 1455. c. 1456. c. 1457. c. 1458. c. 1459. c. 1460. c. 1461. c. 1462. c. 1463. c. 1464. c. 1465. c. 1466. c. 1467. c. 1468. c. 1469. c. 1470. c. 1471. c. 1472. c. 1473. c. 1474. c. 1475. c. 1476. c. 1477. c. 1478. c. 1479. c. 1480. c. 1481. c. 1482. c. 1483. c. 1484. c. 1485. c. 1486. c. 1487. c. 1488. c. 1489. c. 1490. c. 1491. c. 1492. c. 1493. c. 1494. c. 1495. c. 1496. c. 1497. c. 1498. c. 1499. c. 1500. c. 1501. c. 1502. c. 1503. c. 1504. c. 1505. c. 1506. c. 1507. c. 1508. c. 1509. c. 1510. c. 1511. c. 1512. c. 1513. c. 1514. c. 1515. c. 1516. c. 1517. c. 1518. c. 1519. c. 1520. c. 1521. c. 1522. c. 1523. c. 1524. c. 1525. c. 1526. c. 1527. c. 1528. c. 1529. c. 1530. c. 1531. c. 1532. c. 1533. c. 1534. c. 1535. c. 1536. c. 1537. c. 1538. c. 1539. c. 1540. c. 1541. c. 1542. c. 1543. c. 1544. c. 1545. c. 1546. c. 1547. c. 1548. c. 1549. c. 1550. c. 1551. c. 1552. c. 1553. c. 1554. c. 1555. c. 1556. c. 1557. c. 1558. c. 1559. c. 1560. c. 1561. c. 1562. c. 1563. 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CHAP.  
XXII.

" modest command, and appropriate to their  
 " own use the conveniences which were de-  
 " signed for the Roman people. If, in these  
 " places of mixed and general resort, they meet  
 " any of the intimate ministers of their pleasures,  
 " they express their affection by a tender em-  
 " brace: while they proudly decline the saluta-  
 " tions of their fellow-citizens, who are not  
 " permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing  
 " their hands, or their knees. As soon as they  
 " have indulged themselves in the refreshment  
 " of the bath, they resume their rings, and the  
 " other emblems of their dignity: select from their  
 " private wardrobe of the finest linen, such as  
 " might suffice for a dozen persons, the garments  
 " the most agreeable to their fancy, and main-  
 " tain till their departure the same haughty de-  
 " meanour; which perhaps might have been  
 " excused in the great Marcellus, after the con-  
 " quest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these  
 " heroes undertake more ambitious achiev-  
 " ments; they visit their estates in Italy, and  
 " procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands,  
 " the amusements of the chase.\* If at any  
 " time, but more especially on a hot day, they  
 " have courage to sail, in their painted galleys,  
 " from the Lucrine lake,† to their elegant villas

\* See Pliny's Epistles, &c. These large wild boars were suffered  
 to roam in the fields, without interrupting the husband of the plough-  
 man's operations.

† The distance from the insuperable wood Lacuna, which stands  
 at the mouth of the Tiber, is immensurable. The two lakes, Marcellus and Lucrine,  
 communicating with each other, and were inhabited by the stupendous  
 snakes of Agrippa late the Julian year, which spread, through a



“ on the sea-coast of Putrali and Caystra,” they  
 “ compare their own expeditions to the marches  
 “ of Cæsar and Alexander. Yet should a fly  
 “ presume to settle on the silken folds of  
 “ their gilded umbrellas; should a sun-beam  
 “ penetrate through some unguarded and imper-  
 “ ceptible chink, they deplore their intolerance,  
 “ hardships, and labour, in affected language,  
 “ that they were not born in the land of the  
 “ Chimerians,” the regions of eternal darkness.  
 “ In these journeys into the country,” the whole  
 “ body of the household marches with their  
 “ master. In the same manner as the cavalry and  
 “ infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops;

across America, into the Gulf of Mexico. The light is visible on the  
left. The House of Delegates of California was in the moment of its  
formation and its constituents, especially California, have derived  
much light from States, territories, and Texas. Earthquakes and  
floods have straggled the face of the country, and have the fol-  
lowing been seen the year 1870, with the House of Delegates. See California  
Palladium, Illinois State Chronicle, for 1870, 1871, etc. Annual  
Scientific Campaign, p. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> The paper contains a list of 100 names of the authors of the papers presented at the 10th International Conference on the History of Science, held in London, 1956. The list is published in the *Journal of the History of Science*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1957.

\* The political importance of Commerce treaties was originally borrowed from the British case of *Hamer*, (as the seventh item of the 1815-16), which it applies to a treaty with relations country in the form of the same. See *Political Aspects of the Treaty*, item II, p. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 93

1. The rays from these sources, which, under direct vision, appear mainly in relation to the junctions of the branches. 2. They were produced by a group of *Manduca* light forms, which were excited by a cloud of light, the approach of a great mass. 3. Their light-giving action appeared not only the previous evening, but even the night previous to the flight and going, which that is almost proved, by the learned French translation of *Science*, (Paris, 18, p. 422-429), at which the presence of *Chama* and *Japan*. 4. The beautiful form of the young larvae was covered with a modified crust, or ornament, which seemed to be against the action of the sun and heat.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

"the adorned guard and the rest, are mar-  
 "shalled by the skill of their military leaders :  
 "as the domestic officers, who bear a rod, as an  
 "emblem of authority, distribute and arrange the  
 "numerous train of slaves and attendants. The  
 "baggage and wardrobe move in the front, and  
 "are immediately followed by a multitude of  
 "cooks, and inferior ministers, employed in the  
 "service of the kitchens, and of the table. The  
 "main body is composed of a promiscuous  
 "crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental  
 "accessions of idle or dependant plebeians.  
 "The train is closed by the favourite band of  
 "eunuchs, distributed from age to youth, ac-  
 "cording to the order of seniority. Their num-  
 "bers, and their deformity, excite the laughter  
 "of the indignant spectators, who are ready to  
 "excuse the memory of Semiramis, for the  
 "cruel art which she invented, of frustrating the  
 "purposes of nature, and of blasting in the bud  
 "the hopes of future generations. In the exer-  
 "cise of domestic jurisdiction, the holder of  
 "domo expresses an exquisite sensibility for  
 "any personal injury, and a contemptuous in-  
 "difference for the rest of the human species.  
 "When they have called for warm water, if a  
 "slave has been tardy to his obedience, he is  
 "instantly chastised with three hundred lashes.  
 "but should the same slave commit a wilful  
 "murder, the master will mildly observe, that  
 "he is a worthless fellow : but that, if he re-  
 "peats the offence, he shall not escape punish-

"ment. Hospitality was formerly the virtue of  
 "the Romans; and every stranger, who could  
 "plead either merit or misfortune, was relieved  
 "or rewarded, by their generosity. At present,  
 "if a *foreigner*, perhaps of no contemptible  
 "rank, is introduced to one of the proud and  
 "wealthy senators, he is welcomed indeed to the  
 "first audience, with such warm professions, and  
 "such kind inquiries, that he retires, enchanted  
 "with the affability of his illustrious friend, and  
 "full of regret that he had so long delayed his  
 "journey to Rome, the native seat of manners,  
 "as well as of empire. — Secure of a favourable  
 "reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing day,  
 "and is mortified by the discovery, that his  
 "person, his name, and his country, are already  
 "forgotten. — If he still has resolution to perse-  
 "vere, he is gradually numbered in the train of  
 "dependants, and obtains the permission to pay  
 "his assiduous and unprofitable court to a laugh-  
 "ing patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship;  
 "who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his  
 "departures, or his return. — Whenever the rich  
 "prepare a solemn and popular entertainment,\*  
 "whenever they celebrate, with profuse and per-

\* The *Convivia* were very numerous. The *Agones*, or *Agonies*, were small feasts, supposed to consist of a quantity of hot garments, of the value of 100 *quadrantes*, or half-pence value, which were draped in order to the bell, and were thrown downwards to the company or spectators, who rushed at the door. This custom, however, is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the satires of Juvenal. See likewise Festus, in *Pauli's* *Ed.* in Novem. c. 107.



CHAP. XXXI.  
 "delicious feasts, their private banquets; the  
 "glour of the guests is the subject of anxious  
 "deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the  
 "learned, are seldom preferred; and the no-  
 "mediators, who are commonly swayed by  
 "interested motives, have the address to court.  
 "In the list of invitations, the obscure names of  
 "the most worthless of mankind. But the fre-  
 "quent and familiar correspondents of the great,  
 "are those parasites, who practise the most we-  
 "ful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly  
 "applaud each word, and every action, of their  
 "immortal patron; gaze with rapture on his  
 "marble columns, and surmounted pavements;  
 "and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance,  
 "which he is taught to consider as a part of his  
 "personal merit. At the Roman tables, the  
 "birds, the *apocritici*, or the fish, which appear  
 "of an uncommon size, are contemplated with

In *Domitian*, c. 4, 5. These statues of personages were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin, p. 334. which were sometimes given and stamped down by the emperor at the highest public shows. *Hyginus*, *lib. 1* c. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and *Martial*, p. 215, on various occasions, of emperors' invitations, &c.

The usage of an English dinner obliges me to turn to the common personification, not known else, the *Pyramus* boy, a little animal, who imitates the grunts and noises heard in cold weather; see *Phil. Hist. Rom.* c. 11, 92. *Thallus*, *Hist. Asynopis*, tom. viii. p. 148. *Pliny's* *Epistles* c. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. The statue, formed of them for medicinal eating, was introduced by the famous physician of the Country, and it is reported, that they are still retained in modern Italy, and are especially used as pre- scribed by the Celestial physician, the Doctor, the last statue of Them, tom. vi. p. 335, and *Barthol.* 1175.

" curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately  
 " applied, to ascertain their real weight: and,  
 " while the more rational guests are disgusted by  
 " the vain and tedious repetition, notices are  
 " unthought of to attest, by an authentic crowd,  
 " the truth of such a marvellous event. Another  
 " method of introduction into the houses and  
 " society of the great, is derived from the pro-  
 " fession of gaming, or, as it is more politely  
 " styled, of play. The confederates are united  
 " by a strict and indissoluble bond of friendship,  
 " or rather of conspiracy: a superior degree of  
 " skill in the *Transversaria* art, (which may be in-  
 " terpreted the game of dice and tables)\* is a  
 " sure road to wealth and reputation. A master  
 " of that sublime science, who, in a supper or  
 " assembly, is placed below a magistrate, displays  
 " in his countenance the surprise and indignation,  
 " which Cato might be supposed to feel, when he  
 " was refused the pretorship by the votes of a  
 " cupidious people. The acquisition of know-  
 " ledge seldom engages the curiosity of the no-

\* This game, which might be translated by the more familiar  
 name of *clabber*, or *backgammon*, was a favourite amusement of the  
 great Romans; and all Martial mentions, the lower sort, that would  
 play at a very skilful manner. It was called *tabula* because composed  
 from the letters *tabula* or *table*, which signified nothing else, besides  
 playing. The stones, the two armies, were called *albi* and *negri*, the  
 meaning of *albi* was, in reality, very properly placed, and sometimes  
 proved, according to the issue of the game, and the situation of the  
 stones, to be true. The *negri*, who signify black, the *albi* and *negri*,  
 sort of the most illustrious persons of those times, were found  
 to have, even then, as this story implies, a high degree of  
 talent and unusual learning. See *Antiquities of the Romans* book v. p. 175.  
 vol. 1.

CHAP.

XXI

"blest, who abhor the fatigue, and disdain the  
 "advantages, of study; and the only books which  
 "they peruse are the satires of Juvenal, and the  
 "verbose and fabulous histories of Marins Maxi-  
 "mus." The libraries which they have inher-  
 "ited from their fathers, are secluded, like  
 "diverting sepulchres, from the light of day.  
 "But the costly instruments of the theatre,  
 "flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic or-  
 "gans, are constructed for their use; and the  
 "harmony of vocal and instrumental music is  
 "incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome.  
 "In those palaces, sound is preferred to sense,  
 "and the care of the body to that of the mind.  
 "It is allowed as a salutary maxim, that the light  
 "and frivolous suspicion of a contagious molady,  
 "is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the  
 "most intimate friends; and even the servants,  
 "who are despatched to make the decent in-  
 "quiries, are not suffered to return home, till they  
 "have undergone the ceremony of a previous  
 "ablution. Yet this selfish and sensibly deli-  
 "cacy occasionally yields to the more imperious  
 "passion of avarice. The prospect of gain will  
 "urge a rich and giddy senator as far as Spoleto;

\* Marins Maximus, being a common expression, and of sufficient  
 that he transmitted his property. Vegetius, de Re Militari, p. 248.  
 He wrote the lives of the emperors, from Trajan to Alexander Severus.  
 See Greville, *Vies des Empereurs Romains*, t. 1. c. 10. p. 141. and  
 142. p. 141.

\* This story is probably exaggerated. The sumptuousness of the  
 nobility, and the expense of Rome, which was necessary to the  
 Christian hierarchy, and which was necessary, were decidedly curtailed by  
 several Roman, of both sexes, and of the highest rank.

" every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is  
 " insatiable by the hopes of an inheritance, or  
 " even of a legacy; and a wealthy, childless  
 " citizen is the most powerful of the Romans.  
 " The art of obtaining the signature of a favour-  
 " able testament, and sometimes of hastening the  
 " moment of its execution, is perfectly under-  
 " stood; and it has happened, that in the same  
 " house, though in different apartments, a hus-  
 " band and a wife, with the laudable design of  
 " over-riding each other, have summoned  
 " their respective lawyers, to debate, at the same  
 " time, their mutual, but contradictory, inter-  
 " ests. The distress which follows and chastises  
 " extravagant luxury, often reduces the great to  
 " the use of the most humiliating expedients.  
 " When they desire to borrow, they employ the  
 " base and supplicating style of the slave in the  
 " country; but when they are called upon to  
 " pay, they assume the royal and tragic declama-  
 " tion of the grandsons of Hercules. If the dis-  
 " tress is repeated, they readily procure some  
 " trusty sycophant, instructed to maintain a  
 " charge of poison, or magic, against the insolent  
 " creditor; who is seldom released from prison,  
 " till he has signed a discharge of the whole debt.  
 " These vices, which degrade the moral character  
 " of the Romans, are mixed with a puerile su-  
 " perstition, that disgraces their understanding.  
 " They listen with confidence to the predictions  
 " of haruspices, who pretend to read, in the



CHAP.  
XXXI  
continued

"entrails of victims, the signs of future greatness  
"and prosperity; and there are many who do  
"not presume either to bathe, or to dine, or to  
"appear in public, till they have diligently con-  
"sulted, according to the rules of astrology, the  
"situation of Mercury, and the aspect of the  
"moon." It is singular enough, that this rain  
"credulity may often be discovered among the  
"profane sceptics, who impudently doubt, or  
"deny, the existence of a celestial power."

State and  
character  
of the pop-  
ule of  
Rome.

In populous cities, which are the seat of com-  
merce and manufactures, the middle ranks of  
inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from  
the dexterity, or labour, of their hands, are con-  
sistently the most prolific, the most useful, and, in  
that sense, the most respectable, part of the com-  
munity. But the plebeians of Rome, who dis-  
dained such arduous and servile arts, had been  
oppressed, from the earliest times, by the weight  
of debt and usury; and the husbandman, during  
the term of his military service, was obliged to  
abandon the cultivation of his farm.\* The lands  
of Italy, which had been originally divided among  
the families of free and indigent proprietors,  
were insensibly purchased, or usurped, by the

\* Macrobiius, *de Saturni Sabba*, mentions the  
fact in the same manner, as at least the signs, of future events. *de Saturni  
Sabba*, l. i. c. 11. p. 96.

† The fragments of Livy (see particularly iv. 28) are full of the  
depravities of the rich, and the sufferings of the poor labourer. The  
extremely rare of a fragment of a dialogue, *Grægorii*, lib. i. c. 2. p. 28  
p. 217, with *Grægorii*, and *Livy*, lib. 22, must have been frequently  
quoted in those private conversations, which have been so justly  
praised.

avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thousand citizens were possessed of any independent substance.\* Yet as long as the people bestowed, by their suffrages, the honours of the state, the command of the legions, and the administration of wealthy provinces, their enormous pride alleviated, in some measure, the hardships of poverty; and their wants were sensibly supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a voted majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commonwealth imprudently alienated not only the use, but the inheritance, of power, they sunk, under the reign of the Cæsars, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves, and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the just complaint of the ingenious natives, that the capital had attracted the ricks of the universe, and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage brutality of the Egyptian and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics,

\* *Non erat in civitate una talis fortuna, ut quis haberet, domum, velis, &c. De rebus Romanis. Poth. Mares. in add. libr. 1. This expression corresponds well with A. V. C. 443, in a speech of the veteran Philopoy, and it was likewise, as we have seen at the death of the Philopoy, in legions, and perhaps in legions, the misery of the common people.*



CHAP.  
XXXI.

were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of streets was constructed and maintained at the public expense; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps, which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread, of the weight of three pounds, for the use of his family. II. The forests of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs, afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian III. at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. III. In the manners of antiquity, the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp, as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the sum, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English guineas. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide

[illegible]

<sup>17</sup> See Smith, all volumes cited; Thwaites, *DC Voyages*, 1:2, 46, 49. This law was published in *Hawaii*, June 18, A.D. 1823.



CHAP.  
XXV

the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamour accused the dearth and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued, by the grave rescript, to remind his subjects, that no man could reasonably complain of thirst, since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and salubrious water.<sup>2</sup> This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed; and, although the generous design of Augustus<sup>3</sup> does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the use of wine was allowed on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honourable rank; and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

Use of the  
public  
baths.

The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the *Thermae*, or *balnea*, which had been constructed in every part of the city, with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open, at stated hours, for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more

<sup>2</sup> See also August. c. 41. The severe abstinence of the emperor Augustus is the source of wine of Baetica, never admitted to be sold. See English note. 43. c. 21. Translation of Livy and Strabo's *History*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> His design was to plant vineyards along the margin of the Tiber. See Pliny, in Hist. August. p. 227; the story, in Strabo, translated, *History of Modern Turkey*.

CHAP.  
XXII  
ROMAN LIFE

than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian.\* The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design, and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully intermixed with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins, through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia.† From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or Forum, to hear news, and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their wives and children; and spent the hours of the night in obscure taverns, and brothels, in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality.‡

\* Hieronymus apud Ford. p. 101.

† Jerome against Jovinian compares the baths of Septim Severus, if the story of Diocletian with the magnificence of them was exactly by comparison of the public baths of Rome long before the stately Thermae of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The palatine pool for admission was the quarter of the ac, about as much as an English penny.

‡ Antoninus, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15000, 17, 18, after burning the library out state of the school of Rome, exposed, with equal indifference, the laws and letters of his common people.

CHAP.  
XXI.  
*Games and  
spectacles.*

But the most lively and splendid amusement of the idle multitude, depended on the frequent exhibitions of public games and spectacles. The purity of Christian princes had suppressed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people still considered the Circus as their temple, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun, or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention: their eyes fixed on the horses and chariots, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the success of the colours which they espoused: and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race.\* The same immoderate ardour inspired their clamours, and their applause, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and the various modes of theatrical representation. These representations in modern capitals may deserve to be considered as a pure and elegant school of taste, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Muses of the

\* *Journal de Trévoux*, ix. 191. 201. The expressions of *les spectacles*, *Amusements* are not less strong and animated than those of the moderns; and both the one and the other pointed from the Epic. The expression with the great Circus was peculiar to comedies, as *les spectacles* were the subject of *tragedies* in the play. The difference between *Amusements* and *spectacles* did not arise from the fact that a full the value they were of by themselves, though the country in those countries devoted to the Epic.

CHAP.  
XXX.  
continued

Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Atric genius,<sup>a</sup> had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic;<sup>b</sup> and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pantomimes,<sup>c</sup> who maintained their reputation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective choruses. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that, in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merrit of contributing to the public

<sup>a</sup> Some have indeed they composed original poems.

—— *Verborum Cuius*

*And liberum et utlibet quodlibet fecit.*

Horat. *Epist. ad Piscon.* This and the learned, though perplexed, sentiment of Theophrastus, who might have allowed the poets of antiquity to be distinguished from the dramatic Poets, as he has done of Mithras. The learned, according to one of the learned, still remains a very different species of Roman History.

<sup>b</sup> In the time of Quintilian and Pliny a tragedy poet was esteemed as the supreme honour of writing a good poem, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpose, then *Prætor, de Convitiis*, p. 114, and *Plin. Epist.* lib. 10.

<sup>c</sup> See the Description of Lucian, entitled, in *Belles Lettres*, tom. 4, p. 117, and *Bell.* The pantomime played the handsome man. A paragraph, such as was required, that they should be handsome and strong, and not old and weak. See also the *Historia de Pantomima* in *Belles Lettres*, tom. 4, p. 117, and the *Index* in *Belles Lettres*, tom. 4, p. 117.



CHAP.  
XXVI.  
ROMAN  
ANTIQUE.

Popula-  
tion of  
Rome.

pleasures, exempted *them* from a law, which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.<sup>1</sup>

It is said, that the foolish curiosity of Flavianus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry might not have been undeserving of the attention of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government, and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and if any writer of antiquity had condescended to mention the usual amount, or the common average, we might now produce some satisfactory calculation, which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modest and probable conjectures of philosophers.<sup>2</sup> The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances, which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend, in some degree, to illustrate the question of the populousness of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, l. xiv. c. 6. It is remarkable, with decent indignation, that the streets of Rome were filled with crowded families, who might have given children to the state, but who only increased the number and dens of their beds, and put on ridiculous gowns, their ridiculous painted countenances, and African shaven chignons.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures*, *Annus* vi, p. 425, in *Magnum Britannia*, &c. v. 26. and *Esquisse* *Historique*, *Annus* p. 32-34, have noticed the population of fields, or sight, or houses, culled in Rome. Mr. Meuse, (*Compt. rend.* l. p. 445-447), with admirable good sense and vigilance, has traced some secret disposition to estimate the population of ancient times.

Gothic, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured, by Arimæus, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles.\* It should not be forgotten, that the form of the city was almost that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan æge, and whose evidence, on this occasion, has peculiar weight and authority, observes, that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have spread themselves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every side by gardens and villas, suggested the common, though inconvenient, practice of raising the houses to a considerable height in the air.† But the looseness of these buildings, which often consisted of hasty work, and insufficient materials, was the cause of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Augustus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices, within the walls of Rome, should not exceed the measure of seventy feet from the ground.‡ III.

1949. 2221.

\* *Discopoda*, sp. (Part 1, 1977) See *Thomson, BSA, INSTRUCTION*  
12, p. 111.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Zerkov, *Usp. fiz. nauk*, 47, 111 (1958); *ibid.*, 48, 111 (1959); *ibid.*, 50, 111 (1960); *ibid.*, 51, 111 (1961); *ibid.*, 52, 111 (1962); *ibid.*, 53, 111 (1963); *ibid.*, 54, 111 (1964); *ibid.*, 55, 111 (1965); *ibid.*, 56, 111 (1966); *ibid.*, 57, 111 (1967); *ibid.*, 58, 111 (1968); *ibid.*, 59, 111 (1969); *ibid.*, 60, 111 (1970); *ibid.*, 61, 111 (1971); *ibid.*, 62, 111 (1972); *ibid.*, 63, 111 (1973); *ibid.*, 64, 111 (1974); *ibid.*, 65, 111 (1975); *ibid.*, 66, 111 (1976); *ibid.*, 67, 111 (1977); *ibid.*, 68, 111 (1978); *ibid.*, 69, 111 (1979); *ibid.*, 70, 111 (1980); *ibid.*, 71, 111 (1981); *ibid.*, 72, 111 (1982); *ibid.*, 73, 111 (1983); *ibid.*, 74, 111 (1984); *ibid.*, 75, 111 (1985); *ibid.*, 76, 111 (1986); *ibid.*, 77, 111 (1987); *ibid.*, 78, 111 (1988); *ibid.*, 79, 111 (1989); *ibid.*, 80, 111 (1990); *ibid.*, 81, 111 (1991); *ibid.*, 82, 111 (1992); *ibid.*, 83, 111 (1993); *ibid.*, 84, 111 (1994); *ibid.*, 85, 111 (1995); *ibid.*, 86, 111 (1996); *ibid.*, 87, 111 (1997); *ibid.*, 88, 111 (1998); *ibid.*, 89, 111 (1999); *ibid.*, 90, 111 (2000); *ibid.*, 91, 111 (2001); *ibid.*, 92, 111 (2002); *ibid.*, 93, 111 (2003); *ibid.*, 94, 111 (2004); *ibid.*, 95, 111 (2005); *ibid.*, 96, 111 (2006); *ibid.*, 97, 111 (2007); *ibid.*, 98, 111 (2008); *ibid.*, 99, 111 (2009); *ibid.*, 100, 111 (2010); *ibid.*, 101, 111 (2011); *ibid.*, 102, 111 (2012); *ibid.*, 103, 111 (2013); *ibid.*, 104, 111 (2014); *ibid.*, 105, 111 (2015); *ibid.*, 106, 111 (2016); *ibid.*, 107, 111 (2017); *ibid.*, 108, 111 (2018); *ibid.*, 109, 111 (2019); *ibid.*, 110, 111 (2020); *ibid.*, 111, 111 (2021); *ibid.*, 112, 111 (2022); *ibid.*, 113, 111 (2023); *ibid.*, 114, 111 (2024); *ibid.*, 115, 111 (2025); *ibid.*, 116, 111 (2026); *ibid.*, 117, 111 (2027); *ibid.*, 118, 111 (2028); *ibid.*, 119, 111 (2029); *ibid.*, 120, 111 (2030); *ibid.*, 121, 111 (2031); *ibid.*, 122, 111 (2032); *ibid.*, 123, 111 (2033); *ibid.*, 124, 111 (2034); *ibid.*, 125, 111 (2035); *ibid.*, 126, 111 (2036); *ibid.*, 127, 111 (2037); *ibid.*, 128, 111 (2038); *ibid.*, 129, 111 (2039); *ibid.*, 130, 111 (2040); *ibid.*, 131, 111 (2041); *ibid.*, 132, 111 (2042); *ibid.*, 133, 111 (2043); *ibid.*, 134, 111 (2044); *ibid.*, 135, 111 (2045); *ibid.*, 136, 111 (2046); *ibid.*, 137, 111 (2047); *ibid.*, 138, 111 (2048); *ibid.*, 139, 111 (2049); *ibid.*, 140, 111 (2050); *ibid.*, 141, 111 (2051); *ibid.*, 142, 111 (2052); *ibid.*, 143, 111 (2053); *ibid.*, 144, 111 (2054); *ibid.*, 145, 111 (2055); *ibid.*, 146, 111 (2056); *ibid.*, 147, 111 (2057); *ibid.*, 148, 111 (2058); *ibid.*, 149, 111 (2059); *ibid.*, 150, 111 (2060); *ibid.*, 151, 111 (2061); *ibid.*, 152, 111 (2062); *ibid.*, 153, 111 (2063); *ibid.*, 154, 111 (2064); *ibid.*, 155, 111 (2065); *ibid.*, 156, 111 (2066); *ibid.*, 157, 111 (2067); *ibid.*, 158, 111 (2068); *ibid.*, 159, 111 (2069); *ibid.*, 160, 111 (2070); *ibid.*, 161, 111 (2071); *ibid.*, 162, 111 (2072); *ibid.*, 163, 111 (2073); *ibid.*, 164, 111 (2074); *ibid.*, 165, 111 (2075); *ibid.*, 166, 111 (2076); *ibid.*, 167, 111 (2077); *ibid.*, 168, 111 (2078); *ibid.*, 169, 111 (2079); *ibid.*, 170, 111 (2080); *ibid.*, 171, 111 (2081); *ibid.*, 172, 111 (2082); *ibid.*, 173, 111 (2083); *ibid.*, 174, 111 (2084); *ibid.*, 175, 111 (2085); *ibid.*, 176, 111 (2086); *ibid.*, 177, 111 (2087); *ibid.*, 178, 111 (2088); *ibid.*, 179, 111 (2089); *ibid.*, 180, 111 (2090); *ibid.*, 181, 111 (2091); *ibid.*, 182, 111 (2092); *ibid.*, 183, 111 (2093); *ibid.*, 184, 111 (2094); *ibid.*, 185, 111 (2095); *ibid.*, 186, 111 (2096); *ibid.*, 187, 111 (2097); *ibid.*, 188, 111 (2098); *ibid.*, 189, 111 (2099); *ibid.*, 190, 111 (2100); *ibid.*, 191, 111 (2101); *ibid.*, 192, 111 (2102); *ibid.*, 193, 111 (2103); *ibid.*, 194, 111 (2104); *ibid.*, 195, 111 (2105); *ibid.*, 196, 111 (2106); *ibid.*, 197, 111 (2107); *ibid.*, 198, 111 (2108); *ibid.*, 199, 111 (2109); *ibid.*, 200, 111 (2110); *ibid.*, 201, 111 (2111); *ibid.*, 202, 111 (2112); *ibid.*, 203, 111 (2113); *ibid.*, 204, 111 (2114); *ibid.*, 205, 111 (2115); *ibid.*, 206, 111 (2116); *ibid.*, 207, 111 (2117); *ibid.*, 208, 111 (2118); *ibid.*, 209, 111 (2119); *ibid.*, 210, 111 (2120); *ibid.*, 211, 111 (2121); *ibid.*, 212, 111 (2122); *ibid.*, 213, 111 (2123); *ibid.*, 214, 111 (2124); *ibid.*, 215, 111 (2125); *ibid.*, 216, 111 (2126); *ibid.*, 217, 111 (2127); *ibid.*, 218, 111 (2128); *ibid.*, 219, 111 (2129); *ibid.*, 220, 111 (2130); *ibid.*, 221, 111 (2131); *ibid.*, 222, 111 (2132); *ibid.*, 223, 111 (2133); *ibid.*, 224, 111 (2134); *ibid.*, 225, 111 (2135); *ibid.*, 226, 111 (2136); *ibid.*, 22

\* The qualitative molecular weights of Flagg, Armitage, Davidson, and Jones give the pseudomolecular weights of these representative species. See Flagg and Davidson, *J. Am. Chem. Soc.*

CHAP.  
XXII.

Journal's laments, as it should seem from his own experience, the hardships of the poorer citizens, to whom he addresses the salutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the smoke of Rome, since they might purchase, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful commodious dwelling, at the same price which they annually paid for a dark and miserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear: the rich acquired, at an enormous expense, the grounds which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space: and the different floors, and apartments, of the same house, were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris, and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately stated in the description of Rome, composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and

————— *Yaculis non jam vixis sumus.*  
To another class of plebeian population of Rome  
(*Ubi non vixis, quod alijs vixis sumus*)  
a notice.

Journal, vol. iv, 183.

I found the whole third story, but particularly 100, 111, &c. The description of a crowded house, or lodging-house, in Paros, is, 10, 11, perfectly suited with the fragments of *Journal*; and we have from legal authority, that in the time of Augustus, *Admiration*, 1011—*Jan. Romæ*, v. 10, p. 111, the ordinary rent of the whole second, or apartment of an house, amounting probably very little and varying between three and four hundred pounds sterling. *Spenser's Lit. m. d. N.* 1011—*Jan. Romæ*, v. 10, p. 111, the ordinary rent of the whole second, and high value, of these common buildings.

eighty-two.\* The two classes of houses, and of course, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the humble palace of the Artist, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and marble lodging-house, where the great Consul, and his wife, were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. It is adopt the same average, which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,† and indifferently allow about twenty-five paveses for each house, of every degree, we may fairly estimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand: a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the population of the greatest cities of modern Europe.‡

Such was the state of Rome under the reign of Honorius: at the time when the Goths were forming the siege, or rather the blockade, of the city. By a skilful disposition of his numerous

\* First page of History of the Goths, a. D. 400.

\* This, and total population of 1,200,000, are given by the most judicious of modern writers, as perhaps being very low. See, for instance, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi. p. 406. 407.

† See the average value of 22 paveses, which is the average value of the houses of Rome, in the *Annuaire de l'Administration*, 1810, p. 144. 145. From particular observations made by the *Commissaire de l'Administration*, and of the *Administration*.

‡ This last population is very different from that which is given by the *Annuaire de l'Administration*, a. D. 1800. It is estimated that there were 1,200,000 inhabitants of Rome in 1800, and 1,200,000 in 1810. It is not possible to say whether this is a high or a low estimate.

\* See the *Annuaire de l'Administration*, 1810, p. 144. 145. It is not possible to say whether this is a high or a low estimate.



CHAP.  
XXXI.

forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the sweet and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world: but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was mainly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, nay even the adopted mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Aroused, or overawed, by the same popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Serena was ignominiously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find that this cruel act of injustice did not immediately produce the retreat of the barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city

Tarnish.

234. *Chronicon*, l. vi., p. 6. *Geographicon*, ep. Phil. p. 106. *Pro Cosmogon.* l. vi. s. 24. and *Geograph.* *Chronicon* p. 437. 425.

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XXXI.

gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessaries of life, solicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Larta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and conserved to the use of the indigent, the private revenue, which she usually received from the grateful successors of her husband.\* But these private and temporary donations were insufficient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature; and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver, to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely disputed, by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained, that some desperate

\* The mother of Leta, was named Fulgentia. Her name, family, and country, are unknown. Drexel's *Vita. Byzantina* p. 20.



CHAP.  
XXI.

Signs.

Preparations.

wasteful led on the bodies of their fellow-citizens, whom they had severely murdered; and even mothers, such was the horrid conflict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the human breast, even mothers are said to have smothered the flesh of their slaughtered infants.<sup>1</sup> Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres within the walls were by the power of the enemy, the stench which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcases, infected the air; and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, suspended for some time, the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, prefect of the city, had been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the

<sup>1</sup> *See* *Antiquities*, *book* *viii.* *chapter* *xviii.* *where* *the* *author* *describes* *the* *horrible* *scenes* *of* *the* *plague* *which* *ensued* *after* *the* *fall* *of* *Rome* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* 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*was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* *fall* *of* *the* *city* *in* *the* *year* *410* *after* *Christ* *the* *city* *was* *in* *the* *hands* *of* *the* *Goths* *and* *the* *plague* *was* *the* *cause* *of* *the* 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CHAP.  
XXX.  
continued.

camp of the barbarians! The important secret was communicated to Innocent, the Bishop of Rome; and the interior of St. Peter is accused, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the Christian worship. But when the question was agitated in the senate, when it was proposed, as an essential condition, that those sacrifices should be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the presence, of the legislatures, the majesty of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the divine, or of the imperial, displeasure, refused to join in an act, which appeared almost equivalent to the public restoration of paganism.

The last resource of the Romans was in the clemency, or at least in the moderation, of the

More is  
to be said  
here, and  
about the  
same  
A. D. 409

It is not to be forgotten, that the senate of Rome, at this time, was not a single body, but was divided into two parts, the senate, and the people. The senate were probably an imitation of the senate of the Romans, but the people were a new body, which had been created by the emperor, and was called the people of the emperor.

— *Modo enim imperio, quod antea erat  
liberum, transiit in potestatem imperatoris.*  
— *Imperio enim transiit in potestatem imperatoris.*

The emperor, in the year 409, had a great victory over the barbarians, and he was crowned with a triumph. He was also crowned with a triumph by the senate, and he was also crowned with a triumph by the people. He was also crowned with a triumph by the emperor, and he was also crowned with a triumph by the emperor.

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CHAP.  
XXXI.

*King of the Goths.* The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Basilus, a senator, of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to Jotin, the first tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in business, as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their object condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alarik refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an invulnerable people, exercised in arms, and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were enervated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome; all the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the state, or of individuals; all the rich and precious moveables; and all the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *Ambrosians*. The ministers of the senate pre-

aimed to give, in a modest and suppliant tone,—  
 “If such, O King! are your demands, what do  
 “you intend to learn us?” “Your lives,”  
 replied the haughty conqueror. They trembled,  
 and retired. Yet before they retired, a short sus-  
 pension of arms was granted, which allowed some  
 time for a more temperate negotiation. The  
 stern features of Alaric were unusually relaxed;  
 he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and  
 at length consented to raise the siege, on the im-  
 mediate payment, of five thousand pounds of gold,  
 of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thou-  
 sand poles of silk, of three thousand pieces of  
 fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds  
 weight of pepper.\* But the public treasury was  
 exhausted; the annual rents of the great estates  
 in Italy and the provinces, were interrupted by  
 the calamities of war; the gold and gems had  
 been exchanged during the famine, for the vilest  
 sustenance; the hoards of secret wealth were still  
 concealed by the obstinacy of avarice; and some  
 remains of concentrated spoils afforded the only  
 resource that could avert the impending ruin of  
 the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied  
 the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were re-  
 stored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of

\* To give such a list of the commodities of the most extensive Roman  
 empire, and the list was necessary with the Roman census, various  
 countries, the purple, the Paphos, the Murex, the sea, the sea, the sea,  
 from India; and the purple countries, the sea of Murex, still afford  
 the greatest plenty; but the improvement of trade and navigation has  
 multiplied the quantity, and reduced the price. — See *Historia Philo-  
 sophica* & *Philosophica*, lib. 1. c. 17.

peace and plenty. Several of the gates were voluntarily opened: the importation of provisions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obstructed by the Goths: the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this painful trade, made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline, than could have been enforced, was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wise barbarian justified his regard for the faith of treaties, by the just severity with which he chastised a party of treacherous Goths, who had invited some Roman fugitives on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter-quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves, who had broke their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries, and the disgrace, of their cruel servitude. About the same time, he received a more honorable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Attilius, the brother of Isidore,

[1 This Gothic alliance, according to *Strabonius* and *Strabo*, *Geograph. lib. vii.* p. 104, was formed by *Thamir* and *Alaric*, and by the mediation of *Attilius*. I have used the word *Attilius*, which seems to be confirmed by the position of the names, *Thamir* and *Alaric*, of the second family.

had conducted, at his passing invasions, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrat, and who had cut their way, with more difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men, and Italy pronounced, with awe and respect, the formidable name of Alaric.

At the distance of fourteen centuries, we must be satisfied with relating the military exploits of the emperor of Rome, without attempting to investigate the intricacies of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, which he displayed, was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three embassies, at his earnest request, were sent un-<sup>der</sup> measures to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the delivery of hostages, and the execution of the treaty: and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still applied to the rock

\* The wars between Alaric and the Romans, see *History of the Goths*, by Gibbon, 1. 7, p. 224, 225, 226, 227, 228. The additional circumstances we can find and justify by inquiry in any other quarters.



CHAP. XXII. of master-general of the armies of the West; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have encompassed the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected, Alaric shewed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum; an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the incursions of the barbarians of Germany.\* But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obduracy, or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate, he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort, too numerous for a retinue of honour, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave legionaries, encompassed and betrayed, fell a sacrifice to ministerial folly; their general, Valens, with an hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, instead of treating this act of impudent hostility, imma-

\* *Geography*, l. i. c. 287, 288, 289.

diarily renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers.\*

Change  
and increase  
of  
violence.

Olympius† might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people, who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the pretorian prefect; an unworthy servant, who did not atone, by the merit of personal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile, or escape, of the guilty Olympius, reserved him for more vicissitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proscription, which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The laws

\* Zosimus, l. 1, p. 265, 266, 267. The Goths, by presenting a numerous, armed, and implacable volunteer of the city. *Historia*, l. 1, c. 1, p. 272.

† For the adventures of Olympius, and the violence of the senate, see Zosimus, l. 2, p. 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

CHAP.  
XXVI.

Generius, a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors, and even refused to lay aside the military belt: and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor Honorius, that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace, till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Generius, in the important station, in which he was promoted or restored, of master-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rætia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of silence and want, his troops were soon habituated to heroic exertions, and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Generius, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the Italian frontier; and his elegant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the coasts of Italy, attended by such a convey of provisions, and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen, as might have been sufficient not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and coun-

\* *Caesares* li. v. p. 541, relates this circumstance with various particulars, and concludes the character of Generius to be the just proof of despotic government. Very different were the sentiments of the emperor at Ravenna, who despatched four legions to the coast of the north-western part of the sea, which had been just asserted, that all soldiers sent to Generius should be free and voluntary. See *Gregorius* *Abbas*, *Nicola*, A. D. 409, 2<sup>a</sup> 12; A. D. 410, 2<sup>a</sup> 47, 48.

cils of Honorius still remained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on ship-board, and privately executed; while the incourt of the eunuchs procured them a cold and secure exile at Mian and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch, and the chamberlain Allobich, succeeded to the command of the household and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of these subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. By the insolent order of the count of the domestics, the great chamberlain was shamefully beaten to death with sticks, before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich, in the midst of a public procession, is the only circumstance of his life, in which Honorius discovered the faintest symptom of courage or sentiment. Yet before their fall, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire, by opposing the execution of a treaty which Jovius, from a selfish, and perhaps a criminal, motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a personal interview under the wall of Rome. During the absence of Jovius, the emperor was persuaded to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation, nor his character, could enable him to support; and a letter, signed with the name of Honorius, was immediately despatched to the pretorian



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XXXI

prefect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. This letter was immediately communicated to Alaric himself; and the Goths, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed, in the most outrageous language, his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person, and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the prefect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the factious and seditious of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the state and army were obliged to swear, that, without listening, in any circumstances, to any conditions of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and implacable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future negotiation. The ministers of Honorius were heard to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety, and trust their souls to the mercy of Heaven; but they had sworn by the sacred head of the emperor himself; they had touched, in solemn ceremony, that august seat of majesty and wisdom; and the violation of their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion.

<sup>1</sup> *Examen*, l. 4, p. 207, 208, 209. This custom of swearing by the head, or life, or sceptre, or sword, of the sovereign was of old frequent.

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with sullen pride, the security of the marshes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almost without defence, to the resentment of Africa. Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved, or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the *Flaminian* way, he successively despatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to assure the emperor, that he would save the city and its inhabitants from hostile fire, and the sword of the barbarians.\* These impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he successively directed his efforts against the *Port of Ostia*, one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence.† The accidents

CHAP.  
XVII  
continued  
Signed  
attest  
by  
Not. Public  
N. D. 4000

[illegible]

of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$  in 2003 and 2004. I have obtained the expression of  $\Delta H_{\text{eff}}$  and the expression in the third & fourth, on the basis of

<sup>1</sup> See, however, in Church, *op. cit.* *Over California*, 2, 12, p. 412, and  
Bulmer, and the lively description of Fremont, *ibid.*, 2, 12, p. 412. In  
the twentieth century, when the records of this Augustan past were  
still written, the antiquarians described the place, one of Lewis, *Mem-  
oirs of Fremont's Life and Travels*, 1848, p. 199, and described, with  
astonishment, that all the provisions of the party would be needed to ex-  
plore as great a work, *ibid.*, 1848, p. 199. *Over California*, 2, 12, p. 412.



The crown of Africa was deposited in ignominious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demands were enforced by the positive declaration, that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines, on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate: they listened, without reluctance, to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the suffrage of the Gothic conqueror bestowed the purple on Attalus, prefect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as lieutenant-general of the armies of the West; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domestics, obtained the custody of the person of Attalus; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bonds of friendship and alliance.

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, accompanied on every side by the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tumultuous procession, to the palace of Augustus and Trajan. Alaric he had distributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an assembly of the senate; before whom, in a loud and florid speech, he asserted his resolution of restoring the

Attalus is  
represented  
surrounded  
by the Gothic  
and Roman  
armies.

<sup>1</sup> For the conversion of Attalus, consult Zosimus, l. vi. p. 317-320; Zonaras, l. vi. p. 32; Orosius, ap. Froben. p. 135, 136; Prosperus, l. vi. c. 11. and Godefridus, *Universal* p. 470.



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majesty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the East, which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince, who, in his native country of Ionia, had been educated in the pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop.\* The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost

\* We were told the wisdom of Alaric for the Arian baptism, and that of Valentinian for the pagan education, of Attalus. The latter point, however, and the dissensions which he brought to the Arian society, add very considerably to the Christianity of the new emperor.

to the gates of Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers of Jovius, the prætorian præfect, of Valens, master of the cavalry, and infantry, of the quæstor Potamius, and of Julian, the first of the notaries, was introduced, with martial pomp, into the Gothic camp. In the name of their sovereign, they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the West between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain: and the refusal was aggravated by the insulting clemency of Attilia, who is understood to promise, that, if Honorius would instantly resign the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island.\* So desperate, indeed, did the situation of the son of Theodosius appear, to those who were the best acquainted with his strength and resources, that Jovius and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their trust, infamously deserted the sinking cause of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the service of his more fortunate rival. Astonished by such examples of domestic treason, Honorius trembled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival of every messenger. He dreaded the secret eve-

\* He exacted his surrender as fast, as to declare that he would institute Honorius before he sent him into exile. But this assertion of Ravenna is destroyed by the more impartial clemency of Attilia, who, although the desperate proposal before was gradually rejected by Attilia in the morning, and perhaps the weakness, of Jovius.

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XXVI  
Continued

mies, who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-chamber; and some ships lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna, to transport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the East.

He is re-  
sponded by  
Africus.  
A. D. 468

But there is a providence (such at least was the opinion of the historian Procopius\*) that watches over innocence and folly: and the promulgations of Honorius to his peculiar cure cannot reasonably be disposed of. At the moment when his despatch, incapable of any wise or manly consideration, had dictated a shameful flight, a remarkable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these valiant strangers, whose fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the standards of the emperor were no longer disturbed by the apprehension of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa, suddenly changed the opinions of men, and the state of public affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attilus had sent into that province, were defeated and slain; and the active zeal of Heraclius maintained his own allegiance, and that of his people. The faithful count of Africa transmitted a large sum of money, which fixed the attachment of the imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced domestic tumult, and discontent, into the walls of Rome. The failure of the

\* Procopius de Bello Gothico, l. c. c. 2.



African expedition, was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attilius; and the mind of his superior was insensibly alienated from the interest of a prince, who wanted spirit to command, or docility to obey. The most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge, or against the advice, of Alaric; and the obstinate refusal of the senate, to allow, in the embarkation, the sale of even of five hundred Goths, betrayed a suspicious and distrustful temper, which, in their situation, was neither generous nor prudent. The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raised to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excused his double perfidy, by declaring, without a blush, that he had only served to abandon the service of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cause of the usurper. In a large plain near Ravenna, and in the presence of an immense multitude of Romans and barbarians, the wretched Attilius was publicly despoiled of the diadem and purple, and those emblems of royalty were sent to Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendship, to the son of Theodosius. The officers who returned to their duty, were re-embarked in their equipage, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed: but the degraded appearance of

<sup>1</sup> See the names and commissions of the staff of Attilius in the *Notitia*, p. 60, p. 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



CHAP.  
XXXI

the Romans, desirous of life, and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp, in the train of a haughty and rapacious barbarian.\*

Third day  
and week of  
Rome by  
the Goths,  
A. D. 410,  
Aug. 24.

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to the conclusion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna, to press the irresolution of the imperial ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus, and the hereditary foe of the house of Balthi, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna; surprised, and cut in pieces, a considerable body of Goths; re-entered the city in triumph; and was permitted to insult his adversary, by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of Alaric had for ever excluded him from the friendship and alliance of the emperor.† The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated, a third time, by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissimulated his appetite for plun-

\* In this, Alaric was, I suppose, misled by some, who, collecting an army of  
Mannish men, at his own expense, departed. Orosius, l. vii. c. 42,  
p. 361.

† Erasmus, l. vi. p. 364. Suetonius, l. xii. c. 2. Philostratus, l. vii.  
c. 26. In this place the story of Rutilius is mentioned; and we have lost  
the particulars of his story and his fate, which ended with the sack of  
Rome. Cassiodorus said justly, he he is, we must take our leave of that  
distinction with some regret.

der and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a desperate resistance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics; who, either from birth or interest, were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.<sup>1</sup>

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to seize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them, at the same time, to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and

Respect of  
the Goths  
for the  
Christian  
religion.

<sup>1</sup> ADRIAN ARNDT, *antiquities of the Romans*, vol. viii. triumph. chapter, l. viii. p. 229, p. 274. He disapproves this great event in every sense, but he supplies whole pages in reflecting the decrease of the Romans. I have extracted from an agreeable story of Prosperus the particulars which had an air of probability. Prosper. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. He supposes, that the city was surprised while the Romans slept in the afternoon; but Jerome, with more authority and more reason, affirms, that it was in the night, when Alaric and his army could march upon Rome, p. 114. of Prosperus.

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 to respect the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tumult, several of the Christian Clergy displayed the fervour of a recent conversion; and some instances of their unassuming piety and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of ecclesiastical writers.<sup>2</sup> While the barbarians ransacked through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Gods. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession; and was astonished at the readiness with which she conducted him to a splendid hoard of massy plates, of the richest materials and the most curious workmanship. The barbarian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquisition, till he was interrupted by a serious admonition, addressed to him in the following words.—“Thou,” said she, “art the proprietor of vessels belonging to St. Peter: if you presume to touch them, the sacrilegious deed will remain on your conscience. For my part, I dare not keep what I am unable to

<sup>2</sup> The Christian Clergy, without waiting to possess that the greatest part of them were high Abbots, or Bishops, or the like, probably, and others of inferior Orders, &c. The same Clergy who were first attached to the Gothic system, were afterwards and voluntarily, some embracing those Principles of Toleration, which the Goths had learned from the Pagans, and some with the superior spirit, and the spirit of the Christian Clergy, were converted from the Gothic and Gothic and Gothic, and to the Gothic, and to the Gothic.

- defeat. The Gothic captain, struck with reverential awe, despatched a messenger to inform the king of the miracle which he had discovered; and received a peremptory order from Athila, that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apostle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and silver; and the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses, a crowd of Christians hastened to join this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age, or rank, or even of sex, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the *City of God*, was professedly composed by St. Augustine, to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatness. He celebrates, with popular satisfaction, this memorable triumph of Christ; and insults his adversaries, by challenging them to produce some similar example, of a town taken by storm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves, or their devoted votaries.\*

\* See Augustine, de Civitate Dei, l. 5. c. 23. He particularly alludes to the examples of Troy, Jerusalem, and Jerusalem.





exercised without pity or remorse; and the ignominious tasks, which they had formerly received, were washed away in the blood of the guilty, or obnoxious, families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were exposed to injuries more dreadful in the apprehension of chastity, than death itself; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected an example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages.\* A Roman lady, of singular beauty and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Solomon, was attached to the Arim heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and, with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment, and to reject his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they should restore her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied

\* *Expositio*, l. vii. c. 16. *Agapetus* (de Clivio, De L. l. c. 17) mentions, *non solum* (expressly) *etiam* (indirectly) that Christians in some instances, and though sometimes male, used, to challenge, by the weakness, to maintain their own presumption. Perhaps the goodliness of Hippo was an exception to the rule, as well as that of Chrysostom, of this sort of female heroism. "The lovely soldiers, of thy well-remembered, who threw themselves and the Libs, when Mithridates was slain by them, have been included in the number of such instances." See *Ware's History of Constantine's Religion*, vol. 3, p. 208.









Whatever might be the numbers of equestrian, or plebeian rank, who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed, that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.<sup>1</sup> But it was not easy to compute the multitudes, who, from an honourable station, and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the historians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends, or the charity of strangers.<sup>2</sup> The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose, or to alienate.<sup>3</sup> But as it was soon discovered, that the violation of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder, their endless prisoners; the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation, that they should be

[illegible]

\* Mott, C. C. "Chemical Equilibrium with a Variable Temperature," *Ind. Eng. Chem. Anal. Ed.*, 1931, 3, 4, 115; and his discussion reproduced in part in *ibid.*, 1932, 4, 1, 1.

\* See *Belmont v. United States*, 392 U.S. 621, 88 S. Ct. 1458, 18 AFTR2d 64-1254 (1968).

WHAT.

XXI.

[Continued.]

obliged to serve the moderate term of five years, till they had discharged by their labour the price of their redemption.\* The nations who invaded the Roman empire, had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and abridged provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Igilium, separated by a narrow channel from the Argentario promontory, repulsed, or eluded, their hostile attempts; and at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were securely contrived in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.† The simple parmentaries which amply

\* Appianus *lib. lxxviii. de bell. civil. lib. viii. c. 12.* This edict was published the 11th of December, A. D. 498, and is more extensive than that which belonged to the emperors of Maximian.

† *Gregor. lib. vi. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17.*

These provinces had all been brought into

Many provinces were given out in the policy.

Now the empire, and the great power

Empire was divided into many parts, and

The empire was divided into many parts, and

They were divided into many parts, and

The empire was divided into many parts, and

Empire was divided into many parts, and

Empire was divided into many parts, and

Empire was divided into many parts, and

The empire was divided into many parts, and

*Reliqua de Decretis 2. d. 222.*

The above is a very early copy. See *Gregor. lib. vi. c. 12.*

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transmission families possessed in Africa, invited them, if they had time, and prudence, to escape from the ruin of their country; to embrace the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Proba, the widow of the perfect Petravian. After the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Asconian family, and successfully supplied, from her private fortune, the expense of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba supported, with Christian resignation, the loss of immense riches; embarked in a small vessel, from whence she beheld, at sea, the flames of her burning palace; and fled with her daughter Lucina, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin Eusebia, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent provision with which the matron distributed the fruits, or the price, of her estates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of Count Heraclian, who basely sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome, to the last

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CHAP.  
XXXI.

or aversion of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethlehem, the solitary residence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex, and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortune.\* This awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin, disposed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of oriental prophecy, were sometimes tempted to confound the destruction of the capital, and the dissolution of the globe.

Book of  
Rome by  
the Image  
of Charles  
V.

There exists in human nature a strong propensity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the present times. Yet, when the first emotions had subsided, and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess, that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls, than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age.† The experience of eleven centuries

\* See the pathetic complaint of Jerome, *contra* i. c. p. 489. in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet David.

† Orosius, though with some theological premises, makes this comparison. L. 8. c. 28. p. 247. & c. 29. p. 248. But, in the history

has enabled posterity to present a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the barbarians, when Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive, than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles V, a catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans.\* The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days; but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king: but the countable of Bourthen had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline, from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the begin-

of the taking of Rome by the Goths, every thing is mentioned, and painted different. See Broussier and Pithagore, *Annals of the Goths*, p. 32; and Murat, in the *Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv, p. 1-21.

§ The reader who wishes to follow himself at the circumstances of this famous event, must peruse an admirable dissertation in the *Recherches Historiques de Charles V.* vol. II, p. 287; or consult also Arnold's *History of the Emperor Maximilian*, tom. iv, p. 210-214, where he says, 'If he is desirous of illustrating the conquest, by long being prepared by the rightmost loss of the profit, his reflection, *Maximilian*.' But the account which most truly describes the scene of this event, and assigns it, is a little kept, entitled *Il Regno di Roma*, composed, either less than a month after the event of the city, by the brother of the Emperor Maximilian, who signed it thus, *Don*, as this manuscript, and a disinterested writer.

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ning of the sixteenth century, the nations of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an uncivilized state of society, with the polished vices that spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the *Italians*. At the same era, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and New World: but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarices, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of time and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners; many of the *Castilians*, who pillaged Rome, were familiar with the holy Inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The *German*s were less corrupt than the *Italians*, less cruel than the *Spaniards*; and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of these *Teutonic* warriors, often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of catholic superstition: they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form so considerable

is part of the inhabitants of modern Russia; and their hostile and virgile desire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the elements of the present empire.

CHAP.

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The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day, might be the result of prudence; but it was not so, the effect of fear. At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whomever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the vanquishing country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire,\* is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola has been illustrated, on this occasion, by

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<sup>10</sup> MacIntyre, in *Class Warfare*, p. 144 n. 26, p. 177, asserts that the Labour Party in the 1920s had no alternative to the 'reform' of the House of Lords, in the absence of generalisation of suffrage.

<sup>3</sup> However, G. W. C. 346 previously indicates that some of the letters indicate that Alford did not report that the amount of the currency had been used to fund bonds to such a large

<sup>7</sup> *Annals of the Church of Christ*, p. 222, vol. VIII. The story is further fully [sic] supported from St. Peter's tomb — the *Apostolic Burial-ground*, p. 86, n. 109, vol. I, Paris, 1860.

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fifteen years retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their funeral patron: yet it soon appeared by the event, that Felix wanted power, or inclination, to preserve the flock, of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation;<sup>1</sup> and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty,

Progress of Italy by the Goths, A. D. 410. 418.

<sup>1</sup> See *Procopius*, de Bell. Goth. p. 39, p. 447. — *Procopius*, l. i. c. 10, p. 107. — *Augustinus*, de Civ. Dei, l. v. c. 12. — *Bezaudus*, Antiq. Eccles. A. D. 410, N°. 44, 45.



Whether fame, or conquest, or riches, were the objects of Alaric, he pursued that object with an insatiable labour, which could neither be qualified by adversity, nor satisfied by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme limit of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and powerful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition, which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Messina and Messina\* are twenty miles in length, and, in the narrowest passage, about half a mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most timid and unskillful mariners. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk, or scattered, many of the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which lived, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed, in the funeral of a hero, whose valour, and fortune, they celebrated with unbounded applause. By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the

— For the period investigation of the Council of Ministers, see the 1993-1994, 1995, and 1996-1997 issues. Vol. 1, p. 117 and Vol. 2, p. 125-126, who had allegedly studied the estimate, and worked with a section of the defense staff of the country.



CHAP. XXVI. course of the Basentinus; a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils, and trophies, of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed: the waters were then restored to their natural channel: and the secret spot, where the remains of Alaric had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners, who had been employed to execute the work.\*

Adolphus, king of the Goths, concludes a peace with the Romans, and marches into Gaul.  
A. D. 482.

The personal animosities, and hereditary feuds, of the barbarians, were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths, may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Narbonne; who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerome, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valour and victory, I once aspired (said Adolphus) to change the face of the universe; to obliterate the name of Rome; to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal name of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state: and that the fierce untractable humours of the Goths was unequal to bearing the salutary yoke of

\* *Adolphus*, in *Reg. Goth.* c. 20, p. 481.

laws, and civil government. From that mo-  
 ment I proposed to myself a different object of  
 glory and ambition; and it is now my sincere  
 wish, that the gratitude of future ages should  
 acknowledge the merit of a stranger, who em-  
 played the sword of the Goths, not to subvert,  
 but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of  
 the Roman empire.\* With these patriotic  
 views, the successor of Alaric suspended the oper-  
 ations of war; and seriously negotiated with the  
 imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance.  
 It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius,  
 who were now released from the obligation of  
 their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the  
 intolerable weight of the Gothic powers; and  
 they readily accepted their service against the  
 tyrants and barbarians who infested the pro-  
 vinces beyond the Alps. Adolphus, assuming  
 the character of a Roman general, directed his  
 march from the extremity of Campania to the  
 southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either  
 by force or agreement, immediately occupied the  
 cities of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux;  
 and though they were repulsed by Count Hou-  
 sage from the walls of Marseilles, they soon ex-

\* *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 47. p. 244, 245. The war was by St. Augustine, in the year 411, from Africa to Palestine, to assist St. Jerome, and to punish with him the subjects of the Pelagian controversy.

\* *Epistola* supponit, without exact probability, that Adolphus retired and subsisted within a second time, thereby maintaining every-  
 thing in agreement with Orosius in supposing, that a treaty of peace was  
 concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See *Oros.* l. vii.  
 c. 43, p. 244, 245. *Procopius*, de Bell. Goth., c. 21, p. 214, 215.

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XXXI

could drive quarters from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. The oppressed provincials might complain, that the miserable remnant, which the enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colours were not wanting to palliate, or justify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of the morians; the articles of the treaty, or the secret instructions of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful, act of hostility, might always be imputed with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host, impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper, than to relax the courage, of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilized society.\*

HISTORICAL  
NOTES  
ON  
CHAPTER  
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The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendancy which a Roman prisoner had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. \* *Justin*,

\* The subject of the Gothic war has been long since exhausted in French and Italian and English history. The most useful and entertaining French History of the Gothic war is by M. de la Motte, *l'histoire de l'empire romain*, t. viii. p. 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

\* The government of Theodoric is described by *Justin*, *l'histoire de l'empire romain*, t. viii. p. 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

the daughter of the great Theodosius, and of Galla, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the western empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggravated, or excused, by the consideration of her tender age. The victor's first intentions detained, either as a hostage, or a captive, the sister of Honorius; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and respectful treatment. The authenticity of Jordanes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers; yet the splendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance, so injurious to every sen-

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes, l. i. p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Jordanes, l. ii. p. 261. Jordanes, l. iii. c. 45. p. 273. and the Chronicle of Marcellinus and Eusebius, seem to suppose, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the loss of Rome.



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timient of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia, as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted, without reluctance, to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia\* was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenuus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed, on this occasion, the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honourable seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which, according to the custom of his nation,<sup>†</sup> was offered to Placidia, consisted of the rare and singular spoils

\* See the picture of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage in Jornandes, in *Rel. German.* c. 31, p. 614, 615. With regard to the place where the marriage was celebrated, Jornandes, as I observed, is not explicit; the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two disagreeing words. East and India, *divinus* East and *Perseus* *Indicus*. It is true and more accurately the temple of Minerva, with Olympodorus, *see* *Manus.* l. 24, c. 46; but Jornandes gives probably, and correctly, that it is not worth while to try to reconcile Jornandes with his good father.

\* The Visigoths the subjects of Adolphus, overruled by the second law, the privilege of married men. Hence though he is husband is better off, still no settlement for the benefit of the wife during the term of their marriage; and Adolphus is bound and at the same time the bulk part of his property. The Lombards were another more indulgent; they allowed the marriage, immediately after

of her country. Fifty beautiful courtes, in silver robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable value. Attilius, so long the sport of fortune, and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the Hymeneal song: and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barbarians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.\*

The hundred basins of gold and gems, presented to Placidia at her nuptial feast, formed an inconsiderable portion of the Gothic treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged, in the sixth century, by the Franks: sixty cups, or chalices; fifteen pails, or pails, for the use of the excommunication; twenty boxes, or caskets, to hold the books of the gospel; this consecrated

The Gothic  
treasures.

*There's nothing so great as this famous gold, the reward of Valentin, might equal the finest part of the husband's substance. Some curious medals, indeed, were also enough to dispose richly of a person, when they were not used as currency. See Maximilian, Emperor of Austria, l. viii. c. 35. Harpocration, de re antiqua, lib. vi. c. 1. p. 242.*

\* See now the curious detail of this nuptial feast in the *Antiquities of the Goths*, ap. Pertz, v. 146, 147.

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wealth<sup>1</sup> was distributed by the son of Charis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to uphold some further sacrifice of the Gothic. They possessed, with many security of conscience, the famous mirror, or great dish, for the service of the table, of many gold, of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far superior value, from the precious stones, the exquisite workmanship, and the tradition that it had been presented by Atius the patrician, to Torismund king of the Goths. One of the successors of Torismund purchased the aid of the French emperor by the promise of this magnificent gift. When he was seated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert: despised them on the spot; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold: and preserved the mirror, as the pride of the Gothic treasury.<sup>2</sup> When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they

<sup>1</sup> See in the great collection of the historians of France by Dom. Bouquet, tom. ix. *opp. Torismund* & *max.* lib. p. 141. See also *opp. Dagobert*, p. 121. The latter author writes with his usual accuracy of his times, supposes that these distributions of Charis were not followed by the people of wisdom. He is very far wrong. It must be that they would exceed in the work of God.

<sup>2</sup> Consult the following original narratives in the *Bibliothèque de France*, vol. II. *Fredegast*, *scholasticus* *Chron.* c. 12, p. 141. *Fredegast*, *Historia*, lib. p. 142. *Alfred*, *Historia*, c. 10, p. 143. The promise of Wandalis, with the history of Agilnoth, *opp.* c. 12. The *mirrored* pieces of gold were appointed by Dagobert to be sold by the weight of the weight of 10. *opp.*

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have exhibited, another object still more remarkable: a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald,\* encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold.<sup>†</sup> Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship, or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country.<sup>‡</sup> By a wise and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured, Campania, Tuscany, Etruria, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, obtained an

Laws for  
the relief  
of Italy  
and Rome.  
A. D. 479.  
117.

\* The precious Gemma (Orignal des Lais, Art. Gem. 26, p. 229) is all inscribed that the splendours, pieces of emerald, the rubies, and sapphires, which antiquary has placed in Egypt, at Gales, at Carthage, &c., were in reality artificial compositions of coloured glass. The famous emerald table, which is shown at Geneva, is supposed to corroborate the supposition.

† Nicotius Hist. Normann. c. 2, p. 26. Robert. Tich. Hist. Angl. c. 4. Godefr. Hist. de l'Empire et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes, tom. 2, p. 25. It was called the table of Solomon, according to the custom of the Jews, who ascribe to that prince every thing great, vast, or wonderful.

‡ On these laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, l. 46, tit. 10, leg. 12 & 13; tit. 46, leg. 12 & 13; tit. 46, leg. 14. The regulations of the law are very remarkable; since they contain not ten or twenty, but 40, art. 47.



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indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one-fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore, and support, the useful institution of the public games. By another law, the lands, which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should solicit them: and the new possessors were secured against the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which had been committed by his unhappy subjects, during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital: the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately died before the sword of the barbarians, were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, prefect of Rome, informed the court, with great anxiety and surprise, that, in a single day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers.\* In less than seven years,

\* Olympeus ap. Paul. p. 188. Theopompus l. vii. c. 31 observes, that when Demetrius made his triumphal entry, he surrounded the Romans, with his hand and sword (ipse ac gladio), to refresh their eyes; and the Chronicle of Prosper mentions, that the Roman senate repaired on the same solemnity.

the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated; and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storms of war: and was still amused, in the last moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.<sup>2</sup>

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heracian, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported, with active loyalty, the cause of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his consulship, to assume the character of a rebel, and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy: and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if all the vessels, including the royal galley, and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thou-

Revolt and  
defect of  
Heracian,  
count of  
Africa, —  
A. D. 412.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the escape of Christiana, Honoria's daughter, is supposed with some difficulty; but Voisard has deduced from astronomical characters, that he left Rome the 23d of September, and embarked at Porto San Pietro of October, A. D. 416. See Tideman, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 7, p. 250. In the posthumous history, *Byzantine* (2.), 311. An embassy from a high state of civilization.

Erige trionphi laurus, induimus latronem  
Victoris in curia Roma sedente trionchi, &c.

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and two hundred.<sup>5</sup> Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted, or restored, the greatest empire of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the imperial captains; and the head of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.<sup>6</sup> When Herodian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdainful such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his regnship was abolished;<sup>7</sup> and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards shared with his fertile sovereign. Honorius viewed, with supreme indifference, the calamities of Rome

<sup>5</sup> Orosius computed his history in Africa only two years after the second year of his captivity seems to be overthrown by the description of the war. The Chronicle of Maximian gives Herodian 200 ships and 2000 horse; the latter of these numbers is rather too large; but the former would please me very much.

<sup>6</sup> The Chronicle of Eusebius allows, without the least appearance of scruple, that he obtained as far as the suburbs of Ephesus, where he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loss of 400000 soldiers.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. vi. leg. 12. The legend is preserved in his laws, even the proclamation of edicts, were declared void, till they had been formally rejected.



and Italy; but the rebellious attempts of Attilius and Heracianus, against his personal safety, awakened, for a moment, the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peacefully existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the son of Theodosius.\* In the course of a busy and interesting narrative, I might possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince; and I shall therefore take the precaution of observing, in this place, that he survived the last siege of Rome about thirteen years.

The usurpation of Constantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been successful; and seemed to be secure. His title was acknowledged, from the wall of Antiochia to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midst of the public disorder, he shared the dominion,

See the  
time of  
his fall and  
burial.  
A. D. 408.  
412.

\* I have mistaken in another story, Tacitus, and possibly a Silius, reports (*Præcep. de Bell. Gædali* l. 1, p. 74, that Heracianus was slain at the siege of Rome, and he understood that it was not a Christian scholar of that name, but only the master of the school, which had been lost. Yet even this story is a small violation of the public opinion.

\* The material for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from my contemporary historians, such as Silius, and the *Historia Augusta*. I. vii. c. 44, p. 261, 262, 263; *Historia Augusta* Vol. 1, p. 105, 106; *Geographia*, l. vi. p. 210, 211; *Geographia*, and *Proc.* l. vii. p. 105, 106, 107, 108; *Geographia*, l. vii. c. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 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992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



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and the plunder, of Gaul and Spain, with the tribes of barbarians, whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted, from the court of Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Constantine engaged himself, by a solemn promise, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than assisting, his pusillanimous ally, hastily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and ostentatious triumph. But this transient prosperity was soon interrupted and destroyed by the revolt of Count Gerontius, the lieutenant of his generals; who, during the absence of his son Constant, a prince already interested with the imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For some reason, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, instead of assuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his residence at Tarragona, while the active court pressed forwards, through the Pyrenees, to surprise the two emperors, Constantine and Constant, before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely leisure to deplore the elevation of his family; which had tempted, or compelled, him sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a

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siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the shores of Spain; and rescued his name from oblivion, by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious soldiers surrounded, and attacked, his house, which he had strongly fortified. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used, with so much skill and resolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides to the house. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragical scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and sheathed it in

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his heart.\* The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was subjected for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more seated this imperial phantom on the throne: but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shewn to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

Character  
and circum-  
stances of the  
general  
Constantine.

The general, Constantine was his name, who raised by his approach the siege of Arles, and dissipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman: and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The strength and majesty which were conspicuous in the person of that general,† marked him in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging: nor would he sometimes disdain, in the bosom of convivial mirth, to vie

\* The praises which Gerontius has bestowed on this act of despatch, appear strange and unseasonable in the mouth of an unassuming lieutenant. He observes, (p. 370), that the wife of the emperor (Eudoxia Christiana) and that her death was worthy of her religion, and of imperial pomp.

† *Eusebii Epistola*, is the expression of the reputation, which he seems to have borrowed from *Kubis*, a fragment of Euripides, of which some fragments only are now extant. (*Strabo*, lib. 10, p. 441. c. 10). This allusion may prove, that the modern historians were still ignorant of the works of the fifth century.



with the pantomimes themselves, in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms: when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Constantine then struck terror into his foes, and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the West; and the presumptuous emperor, Constantine, after enjoying a short and useless respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni: and his ambassador, Eulolius, soon returned, at the head of an army, to disturb the operations of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhone, and to meet the barbarians. His marches were conducted with so much skill and secrecy, that, while they engaged the infantry of Constantine in the front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in their rear. The remains of the army of Eulolius were preserved by flight or submission, and their leader escaped on the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend; who too clearly understood, that the head



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of his illustrious guest would be an agreeable and lucrative present to the imperial general. On this occasion, Constantine beheld with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman, subduing, or suppressing, every sentiment of jealousy; he publicly acknowledged the merit and services of Ulpianus; but he turned with horror from the assassin of Edipus, and sternly intimated his commands, that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendship and hospitality. The usurper, who he held, from the walls of Arles, the ruin of his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a Christian presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantine, were superadded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to soil his laurels with the blood of Constantine; but the abdicated emperor, and his son Julian, were sent under a strong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.

Death of the usurper  
Constantine,  
A. D.  
411. Nov.  
28.

Fall of the  
usurper  
Julianus,  
A. D.  
411. Dec.  
4.

At a time when it was universally confessed, that almost every man in the empire was superior in personal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a

rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the imperial camp, that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Gaur, king of the Alani, and of Guntthar, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had bestowed the empire, advanced with a formidable host of barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect, that a brave and skillful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the possession of Gaul: and Dardanus, the pretorian prefect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.\*

\* *Julianus Africanus*, li. vi. cap. 9. p. 423, and *Not. August.* n. 589, after designating the two emperors, Constantius the father of Jovinus, and possibly of Gratianus, successors to Honorius, then at the close of whose reigns were traced to the period of Theodosius. The Greek emperor a remarkable character in the world, and even in the church, had a direct correspondence with St. Augustine and St. Jerome; and was conversant with the latter them. iii. p. 600 with the epithets of *Christianissimus Nobilissimus*, and *Nobilissimus Christianissimus*.

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When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclination could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust, (for which it is not easy to assign a cause, or a date), Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Attalus the ignominious task of negotiating the treaty, which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised to read, that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambitious language, the officious impertinence of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarius, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorius, was provoked to desert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward, or punish. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the house of Balth. He attacked Sarius at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair,



but at length oppressed by multitudes, this band of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the snare, than he was instantly despatched. The death of Saurus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia, by the assurance that he would immediately transmit, to the palace of Ravenna, the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebastian. The king of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay: the helpless fatherless, unsupported by any personal merit, were abandoned by their barbarian auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentinian was expiated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor, chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored, again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was restrained, by pity or edulge, from offering any violence to the person of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in search of some

The argument may be made, and almost always is, that present  
 rights are a mere *de facto* possession. There is said to be no such thing as a  
 natural property, and the method of extinguishing and substituting  
 another, however obvious, is to be regarded by the House of Commons  
 as the right of the people. It is the principle of the House of Commons  
 that, in the case of a new state, it is the foundation of the right of  
 the people to the territory, and not of the people to the territory.



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seque and solitary retreat; but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Honorius, led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude, on the second step of the throne of his invincible conqueror. The same measure of punishment, with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of menacing his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himself: he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessaries of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed, that, in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.

Invasion of  
Spain by  
the Goths.  
Vandalas,  
Alani, &c.  
A. D. 409.  
Oct. 13.

The situation of Spain, separated, on all sides, from the enemies of Rome, by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were now obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Biscaya, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman

world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade. The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperor; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was intrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Hungarian huns, in the service of Constantinople, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths. The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards

\* Without returning to the more recent writers, I shall again show responsible individuals who're willing to see death and wealth approaching via Expulsion (after Howell, pp. 24, in the third volume of Emerson's *Massachusetts*, 1836-37, in *The Collected Works*, p. 447, with Taylor, and Edition of *Walden's* Preface to *Emerson's* *Walden*, p. 507). Many particular references to the family and death in Spain, may be found in Newman, *Hispanic Literature*, and in *Howe*, *Howe's* *Emerson's* *Emerson*, p. 40, p. 225-226.

\* The same is accurately said of the *Pauci*, and the *Chrysalis* of *Lucania*. *Trichostema* n. sp. p. 376, regarded the loss of scale by the minority of the *Stratostomus*, whose *Stomatod.* (p. c. 17) seemed only their suggestion.

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of the Pyrenees to desert their stations; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the west of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers. "The  
"irruption of these nations was followed by the  
"most dreadful calamities; as the barbarians  
"exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the  
"fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards;  
"and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the  
"open country. The progress of famine reduced  
"the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh  
"of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild  
"beasts, who multiplied, without controul, in  
"the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of  
"blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly  
"to attack and devour their human prey. Pres-  
"tence soon appeared, the inseparable accom-  
"paniment of famine; a large proportion of the peo-  
"ple was swept away; and the groans of the  
"dying excited only the envy of their surviving  
"friends. At length the barbarians, satiated  
"with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the  
"contagious evils which they themselves had  
"introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the

\* I have twice to apply the proposition of Diodotus to these national calamities; and he, therefore, obliged to accommodate the circumstances of the events to the terms of the proposition.



" depopulated country. The ancient Gallia,  
 " whose limits included the kingdom of Old  
 " Castile, was divided between the Saxi and  
 " the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over  
 " the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania,  
 " from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean;  
 " and the fruitful territory of Bætica was allotted  
 " to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic  
 " nation. After regulating this partition, the  
 " conquerors contracted with their new subjects  
 " some reciprocal engagements of protection and  
 " obedience: the lands were again cultivated;  
 " and the towns and villages were again oc-  
 " cupied by a captive people. The greatest  
 " part of the Spaniards was even disposed to  
 " prefer this new condition of poverty and bar-  
 " barism, to the severe oppressions of the Roman  
 " government: yet there were many who still  
 " asserted their native freedom: and who refu-  
 " sed, more especially in the mountains of Galli-  
 " cia, to submit to the barbarian yoke."

The important present of the lords of Joviana and Sebastian, had approved the friendship of Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of

Adolphus,  
king of the  
Goths.

Marchus  
king of the  
Goths.  
A.D. 411.

\* *Memorie de l'histoire d'Espagne*, t. 2, p. 1, l. 1, p. 118. *Mag. Cassin.* 1775. He says that, in October, A.D. 411, A.D. 411, that the Goths had received their lands from the Romans, and that they of the Goths had received their lands from the Romans. The Goths were given to the Romans, and the Romans were given to the Goths.



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turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain: the troops of Constantine intercepted his communication with the sea-ports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees:<sup>1</sup> he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride, was not abated by time or possession: and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandfathers, Theodosius, appeared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field: and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus: a barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature; whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master. Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona: the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction;<sup>2</sup> and a stranger

the death,  
A.D. 413,  
August.

<sup>1</sup> This mixture of force and persuasion may be partly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jordanes, the Roman and the Gothic historians.

<sup>2</sup> According to the opinion of Jordanes, *l. vi.* p. 453, the true hereditary right to the Gothic empire was found in the Aethiopes, not those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia.

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continued.

to the royal race, Singaric, the brother of Sarus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable bishop.\* The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion, which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horns of a barbarian, the assassin of an husband whom Placidia loved and lamented.

The Gothic  
conquest  
and removal  
Spain.  
A. D. 414.  
Us.

But Placidia soon obtained the pleasure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious sufferings might rouse an indignant people against the tyrant, who was assassinated on the seventh day of his usurpation. After the death of Singaric, the free choice of the nation bestowed the Gothic sceptre on Wallia: whose warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hostile to the republic. He marched in arms, from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantic ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the southern promontory of

\* The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is vague from an oversight of suppressed authority.

\* The death of Adolphus was confirmed at Constantinople, with Placidia and Eudoxia princess (the Queen-Mother). It was even doubtful, whether the former were demanded, on the application, in their behalf of the Visigoths, as of the Latins.

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Spain,<sup>2</sup> and, from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa. Wallia resumed the designs of conquest, which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again disappointed the enterprise of the Goths; and the minds of a superstitious people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphus no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real, or supposed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Constantine. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed; Placilla was honourably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths; and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly excited among the barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their content; the events of which must be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual slaughter of

<sup>1</sup> *Quidam* Tacitum esse autem dicitur Wallia bene tradidit formam, et prout Martia Alaric prout, et tantum bene expressit Colpo.

*Edm. Spelman in Pagan. Antiqu. 281. p. 285, edit. Riccard.*

<sup>2</sup> This supply was very considerable: the Goths were ravaged by the Vandals of Spain and the expelled of Syria, because, in their extreme distress they had given a piece of gold for a trull, or slave, and a parcel, of Syria. *Olympiod. apud Pict. p. 197.*



their common enemies. The Spanish war was obstinately supported, during three campaigns, with desperate valour, and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Baetica. He slew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers, who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Gallia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities. In the pride of Victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Hunsburg; and the tyranny of the imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the

<sup>2</sup> Or, more correctly, a sort of these pretended letters. The first one, they pretend to hate, maintaining absolute silence; the middle reveals some partiality, and the third, *consequently*, reveals partiality in the highest form, a strategic preference. The idea is, of course, that I cannot possibly resist that it was unorthodox, as expressed, by the last



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arms of Wallia, had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets, and orators, of magistrates, and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius.\*

There are  
evidences  
in *Agath-  
angela*,  
A. D. 419.

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repulsed the Pyrenæans, had extirpated the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageously situated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeness of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is blessed with a fruitful soil, and a temperate climate: the face of the country

\* Roman triumphs degenerated in the final expression of *Triumphus*. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from *Olympiodorus*, *Grand Fleet*, p. 480; *Procopius*, II. viii. c. 33, p. 284-287; *Jordanus*, *de Rebus Gothicis*, p. 31, 32; and the *Chronicon* of *Idatius* and *Isidore*.

employed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitaine.<sup>1</sup> The Gothic limits were enlarged by the additional gift of some neighbouring dioceses: and the successors of Alaric fixed their royal residence at Thoulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHs, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS, obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovianus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor: the lands of the Rhenus, or Upper Germany, were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest, or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy.<sup>2</sup> The Franks, the vallant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had so bravely resisted.

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of the Church of Britain*, p. 227-227; and *Antiquities of the Church of Britain*, p. 227-227. See also *Antiquities of the Church of Britain*, p. 227-227. Paris, 1800. A local description of the province of Aquitaine and Burgundy.

<sup>2</sup> *Ordonnance* II. vol. II. p. 227, contains the original and history of these Burgundians, who retained their subjects of Gaul as their Christian brethren. See also *Antiquities of the Church of Britain*, p. 227-227. Paris, 1800. A local description of the province of Aquitaine and Burgundy.

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Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by these lawless bands; and the humble colony, which they so long maintained in the district of Taxandria, in Brabant, sensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheld, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany: These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence; but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence, of that term, have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.

Notes of the  
last century  
in Gaul,  
A. D. 429,  
&c.

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capaciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war: the richest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted

\* See Hincmar, l. viii. c. 41, 42. Except in a short and insignificant line of the Chronicle of Fredegar, the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the seventh century. The silence of the Gothic Frisquingus (see l. viii. c. 10, 11, 12) suggests, probably strongly, that the name of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was transmitted to the Franks by the father Hincmar, who was an exile in France.



by the Romans themselves, not only in the violence of foreign conquest, but in the madness of civil discord. The Triumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy, and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans who avenged the death of Cæsar, and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circumstances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legionsaries of Augustus appear to have surmounted, in violence and injustice, the barbarians, who invaded Gaul, under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion, who had usurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua; but Paulinus of Bordeaux received a sum of money from his Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with pleasure and surprise: and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colours of moderation and equity.<sup>4</sup> The odious name of conquerors, was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *gens*.

23. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1991; 265: 1111-1114

Elmwood, N. J., 1970. *Journal of the American Water Resources Association*, 6: 103-112.

Abstracts of the Proceedings of the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC, August 1-5, 1998.

Stamps 4475-4484, 4490.

[illegible]

<sup>10</sup> For the historical context of the publication of *Problems*, see, e.g., Thomas, *William*, 131-32.



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\*\*\*\*\*

of the Romans, and the barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies: and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, unanimously solicited the more honorable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies.<sup>2</sup> Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors, who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the capital.

Desert of  
Britain  
and Armor-  
ica.  
1196.  
A. D. 406.

Whilst Italy was ravished by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces, which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn: and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and repaired in the

<sup>2</sup> This important truth is established by the writings of Trebellius Maximus (Euseb. Hist. viii. c. 40), and by the testimony of the Arab Geographers (Hist. de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française par les Galles, tom. I. p. 246).

important discovery of their own strength.\* Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. The expelled they Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the West; and the letters, by which he committed to the new states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious: the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people, was incompatible either with free-

\* Tacitus (l. ii, p. 312, 320) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our historians, even the great Camden himself, have been guilty of gross errors by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the conquest.

\* The limits of Armorica are defined by two natural frontiers, Meuse and Vaire and d'Avonle, in their *Statute of Ancient Gaul*. The word had been used in a more extensive, and was afterwards converted by a more extensive, signification.

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dom or servitude;" and America, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic, was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irretrievably lost.<sup>1</sup> But as the emperor wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.

State of  
Indiana  
S. D. 1890  
419

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government, and the hide-

[illegible]

Palmer, M. 1911. In Vol. No. 1, *Journal of the Acad. Nat. Sci. Phila.*, p. 41. Various alleged animal specimens in connection with the matter, to which I claim that the evidence of the present *Proconurus*, (A. D. 1869, who, on the life of Dr. Cooper's, with the American before mentioned, and subsequent population. See the *Journal of Phila.*, Vol. 1, p. 412.

\* It might be necessary to enter this product against the part of the system of the Aids Index, which Montenegro has no significant amount. See Annex for table, p. 133, n. 13.

Two passages are particularly noteworthy: first, pp. 105-106, the words of the *Prolegomena* (cf. *Varia*, I, 2, p. 181, latest edition), in a very important passage which has been too much neglected. Karl Meißner (*Stud. Augustin.*, I, 1, p. 17, p. 25, edn. 1904) mistakenly holds that the Roman Church left Meißner in the charge of *Monachia*. Yet we find in his letters and sermons around the term of *Monachia* (and there are some who hold only the interval of a few months between *Monachia* and the arrival of the *Episcopi*).

<sup>2</sup> While he has fought the suppression of the papers against the state and federal courts, neither has he been willing to be punished, and the independent O'Leary raised \$2,000 more for the costs of the papers. *Washington Post*.

nient country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.\* I. Zonaras, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the cities of Britain.† Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among them, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest, by their superior privileges and importance.‡ Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.§ The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public order and command, were inherent to these petty

<sup>2</sup> Lines 10, 11, 12, and 13, which appear in the original, are deleted in this paragraph (the deletions are indicated by brackets and italics). The authorship of the language has sometimes been attributed to the original and the subsequent work.

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A few years of British were necessary, that is, the East India Company, to the dependence of southern India. The British in India from Richard of Cornwall, the first of the House, p. 101, and though it may not seem probable, that he went from the East of India, he shows a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extensive for the times of the East India Company.

\* See Walter D. Howe, *Confessions*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 6, 11-12.



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 republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate. But the desire of obtaining the advantages, and of escaping the burdens, of a political society, is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord: nor can it reasonably be presumed, that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,\* would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators: and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, consulted their own safety, by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness: but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into

\* *Leges non habet, magistratibus traditis.*

*Et senatus famulus non erat nisi quis.*

*— Tacitus, Ann. l. 4. c. 11.*

strong castles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country;—the produce of the land was applied to purchase arms and horses: to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftains might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars. Their situation, and their hopes, would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, while the *cities* stationarily preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties; again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was exhausted in obscure and intestine quarrels:

\* An interesting tract written, Montagu Selden, *Apollinaris*, p. 285, describes a similar state more or less, without mentioning, ascribed by Tacitus to the same period, near *Alfredus*, in the present *Normannia*, and named by him *Thermodis*.

\* The establishment of their power would have been, says *Isidore*, if we could adopt the hypothesis of a truly and honest independence; who supposes, that the British monarchs of the second order descended to kings, though with subordinate powers, from the time of *Uladus* to that of *Manius*. See *Willelmus's History of Strathclyde*, vol. 6, p. 247-257.

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and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to restore the freedom of some neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*,<sup>a</sup> who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government. III. The British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops,<sup>b</sup> with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor<sup>c</sup>) would compel them to display the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper, of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country; those salutary lessons might be frequently manifested in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise revolutions often converted, and some-

<sup>a</sup> *tyrant* was properly not only a king, but a usurper. See Prosopon, de Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. c. p. 101. In the same sense, prosopon synagoge was the assembly of Jews, in the year 415. insin. ii. p. 253, at Constantinople. By the emperor, who presided every year to the Holy Land, the words of Aristotle implied the civil and most venerable magistracy.

<sup>b</sup> See Wingham's *English Antiquities*, vol. ii. c. 2. sec. 4. p. 284.

<sup>c</sup> It is reported of some British bishops, who assisted at the council of Rome, A. D. 447, that, upon being asked what bishops they had brought from Britain, A. D. p. 407. *A view of the state of the British church, from the fourth to the seventh century*, &c.



times elected; and there is reason to believe, that, in moments of extreme danger, a *Pemdragan*, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they attributed, as the peculiar disgrace, of their native country.<sup>1</sup>

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the slavish provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict,<sup>2</sup> filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express, and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly, at the seven provinces; a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitaine and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy.<sup>3</sup> Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly; which regularly

<sup>1</sup> Consult *Chetif, de Antiq. Britan. Romanorum*, c. 3. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sismondi, *Night of Chetif*, *Apollon*, p. 147. Honorius, or Blaise, who assigns a place to the *Septem*, had probably seen in the public library a very perfect copy. *De Gaul. Hist. Collège de la Sainte-Trinité, Paris*, 1740, p. 211-212.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident from the *Notitia*, that the seven provinces were the *Thiennensis*, the *Maritima*, *Alyp*, the *Sea* and *internal* *Narbonensis*, *Narbonensis*, and the *Sea* and *internal* *Aquitanica*. In the name of the first department, viz. *Alia Italia*, or the authority of Honorius, I ought to introduce the *Septem*, or *Septem*.



CHAP. continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth  
XXXI. of August to the thirteenth of September, of  
every year. It consisted of the prætorian præfect  
of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one  
civil and six military; of the magistrates,  
and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities;  
and of a competent, though modest, number  
of the most honourable and opulent *procurators* of  
land, who might justly be considered as the re-  
presentatives of their country. They were en-  
powered to interpret and communicate the laws  
of their sovereign; to expose the perverseness and  
abuses of their constituents; to moderate the  
excessive or unequal weight of taxes; and to  
deliberate on every subject of local or national  
importance, that could tend to the restoration of  
the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces.  
If such an institution, which gave the people an  
interest in their own government, had been uni-  
versally established by Trajan or the Antonines,  
the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might  
have been cherished and propagated in the em-  
pire of Rome. The privileges of the subject  
would have secured the throne of the monarch;  
the abuses of an arbitrary administration might  
have been prevented, in some degree, or cor-  
rected, by the interposition of these representative  
assemblies; and the country would have been  
defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of  
natives and foreigners. Under the mild and ge-  
nerous influence of liberty, the Roman empire  
might have remained inviolable and immortal;  
or if its excessive magnitude, and the instability

of human affairs, had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The emperor Honorius expresses his surprise, that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold, was imposed on the absent representatives: who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*An abbe emperor of the East—Idololatry and dis-  
grace of Phocas—Recall of Justin—Persecution  
of St. John Chrysostom—Theodosius II emperor of  
the East—His sister Pulcheria—His wife Eudokia  
—The Persian war, and division of Armenia.*

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The empire  
of the East.  
A. D. 527—  
565.  
Reign of  
Justinian.  
A. D. 527—  
565.

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius, marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of permanence and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the title, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CEESAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Peralá; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom's cele-

<sup>1</sup> *Forced* *Constantinople*, who, by the command of his Eastern brethren, was compelled (see Longinus, *loc. cit.* p. 110.) to recede the palace of Justinian, by the same address to the Emperor, 1170, and himself with a large force that captured the city of Rome, with various successes, which secured the recovery of the Theodosian city, see Chrysostom, *Opera* tom. III, p. 178-180, and the French Dissertation, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. III, p. 418-480.

late, while they condemn the pompous luxury  
 of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," says  
 he, "wears on his head either a diadem, or a  
 " crown of gold, decorated with precious stones  
 " of inestimable value. These ornaments, and  
 " his purple garments, are reserved for his exalted  
 " person alone; and his robes of silk are em-  
 " broidered with the figures of golden dragons.  
 " His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he  
 " appears in public, he is surrounded by his  
 " courtiers, his guards, and his attendants.  
 " Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the  
 " bridles and trappings of their horses, have  
 " either the substance, or the appearance, of  
 " gold; and the large splendid boss in the  
 " midst of their shield, is encircled with smaller  
 " bosses, which represent the shape of the human  
 " eye. The two wheels that draw the chariot of  
 " the monarch, are perfectly white, and shining  
 " all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure  
 " and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the  
 " spectators, who contemplate the purple cur-  
 " tains, the snowy carpet, the size of the pro-  
 " ceeds stones, and the resplendent plates of  
 " gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the  
 " motion of the carriage. The imperial pictures  
 " are white, on a blue ground; the emperor  
 " appears seated on his throne, with his arms,  
 " his horses, and his guards beside him; and his  
 " vanquished enemies in chains at his feet."

The successors of Constantine established their  
 perpetual residence in the royal city, which he



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had situated on the verge of Europe and Asia, inaccessible to the incursions of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate: while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris: and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation which separated the eastern coast of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia, was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and knowledge, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had received the language and manners of Greece, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy: the name of the ROMAN EMPEROR, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile adulation of their people. They were ignorant



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XXXII.

cunning; and blast, by their malicious suggestions, the fame and fortunes of the most illustrious citizens; but they never presumed to stand forward in the front of empire,\* or to prophane the public honours of the state. Eutropius was the first of his artificial sex, who dared to assume the character of a Roman magistrate and general. Sometimes, in the presence of the blushing senate, he ascended the tribunal, to pronounce judgment, or to repeat chibastic harangues; and sometimes appeared on horseback, at the head of his troops, in the dress and armour of a hero. The disregard of custom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Eutropius seem to have compensated for the folly of the design, by any superior merit or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the study of the laws, or the exercises of the field: his awkward and unim-

\* After assuming the progress of the authors in the Roman senate, and diffusing their angry feelings, Claudius said,

———A. Romanus recedat.

Original.

In Eutrop. l. i. lib.

Yet it does not appear that the senate had assumed any of the official duties of the empire, and he is obliged with Propertius, *sedes sua* (his seat), is the seat of his command. See Eut. Theod. l. vi. lib. vi. cap. 11.

\* *Imperat ubique sua, non ubique decore*  
*Te mirantur, sed non tam laetantur, ubi*  
*Quidam spectantur, —* — — —  
*Amo enim, ubi spectantur, —*

Caesars. vi. 275-276, with great manner of indignation and haughty, with great pride and sense of duty, describe the Roman city of the empire, the daughter of the empire, and the seat of the empire.

—Caesars, vi. 275-276, lib.

Et ubi, ubi, ubi, ubi.

cessful attempts provoked the secret contempt of the spectators: the Goths expressed their wish, that such a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the minister was branded with ridicule, more pernicious perhaps than hatred, to a public character. The subjects of Arcadius were exasperated by the recollection, that this deformed and degraded eunuch,\* who as perversely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the most abject condition of servitude; that, before he entered the imperial palace, he had been successively sold, and purchased, by an hundred masters, who had exhausted his youthful strength in every mean and infamous office, and at length dismissed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty.<sup>2</sup> While these disgraceful stories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private conversations, the vanity of the favourite was flattered with the most extraordinary honours. In the senate, in

\* The poet's lively description of his deformity, in *THE IDYLS*, is reinforced by the pathetic account of Chrysostom, *COEL. III. p. 284.* When, however, the emperor, bath when the pain was washed away, the feet of Eutropius appeared more light and sparkling than that of an old woman. *Orated. tom. II. c. 105.* And the remark must have been founded on experience, that there was naturally no interval between the youth and the decrepid age of an eunuch.

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius appears to have been a native of Asia, as he speaks *THE GREEK VERSION*, which Chrysostom more judiciously describes, was thing said. He spent many years in the service of Fulvius, a gladiator in number of the imperial stables. E. Fulvius gave him to the old general Aetadius, to whom he very civilly presented the possession of a gladiator. E. He was given, as his marriage, as the daughter of Aetadius, and the father's name was employed to give him a name, as proper and as it was, it was said to the old emperor to give him a name. *THE IDYLS. II. 137.*



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the capital, in the provinces, the statues of Emperors were erected, in brass, or marble, decorated with the symbols of his civil and military virtues, and inscribed with the pompous title of the third founder of Constantinople. He was promoted to the rank of patrician, which began to signify, in a popular, and even legal, acceptance, the father of the emperor; and the last year of the fourth century was polluted by the insolence of an ennobled slave. This strange and unexampled privilege\* astonished, however, the paganism of the Romans. The effrontery could not be rejected by the West, as an indelible stain to the name of the republic; and, without involving the shades of Brutus and Cassius, the challenge of Entropius, a licensed and respectable magistrate, sufficiently represented the difference between the two administrations.

11-11-22  
 Day and  
 Night

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufine seems to have been actuated by a more sanguinary and revengeful spirit; but the manner of the execution does not less illustrate than that of the poet.

\* Chairman, U.S. Commerce Dept., after receiving the 1990-1991 list of countries from the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, speaking at a press conference at the U.S. State Dept. in Washington.

The first issue concerns a well-known example of the problem of *trans* to the Epistemic Hierarchy, illustrating the way in which the issue is resolved.

It is not clear from the text whether the author is referring to the same group of people as in the previous paragraph, or if it is a different group. The text is somewhat ambiguous.

CHAP.  
XXVII.  
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As long as he despised the oppressors, who had enriched themselves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his excessive disposition without much envy or injustice; but the progress of his influence invaded the wealth which had been acquired by honest industry, or laudable industry. The usual methods of extortion were practised and improved; and Claudius has sketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the state. "The importance of the market" (says that agreeable satirist) "has served only to stimulate his avarice: the same hand which, in the worse condition, was restricted to petty thefts, in which the rulers of his master, now grasps the robes of the wealthy; and this infamous broker of the empire appropriates and divides the Roman provinces, from inland Hæmus to the Tiber. One man, at the request of his wife, is made possessed of Asia; a second purchases Syria with his wife's jewels; and a third demands, that he has exchanged his paternal estate for the government of Bithynia. In the public chamber of Eutropius, a large tablet is exposed to public view, which marks the respective prices of the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately distinguished. Lydia may be obtained for so many thousand pieces of gold; but the opulence of Phrygia will resplendence considerably more. The emperor wishes to elaborate, by the general sale, his personal opulence; and as he lives



crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople: and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an imperial rescript, and banished to Pityus, on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world; where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile in Sidon in Phœnicia. The destruction of Timotheus required a more serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signalized his valour by a decisive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing flatterers. Timotheus had despised the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependant to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargas, who was secretly instigated by the favourite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal council stood by the side of the throne

A further direct parallel from the history of Europe has given a very understandable picture of Thailand. The account of my husband, the judge, tells me it perfectly agrees with the position of Thailand and modern events. (See *Thailand*, L. A. p. 274, 275. *Ann. & Studies* knowledge from the account of a great event, creating a history, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212th, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 308th, 309th, 310th, 311st, 312th, 313th, 314th, 315th, 316th, 317th, 318th, 319th, 320th, 321st, 322nd, 323rd, 324th, 325th, 326th, 327th, 328th, 329th, 330th, 331st, 332nd, 333rd, 334th, 335th, 336th, 337th, 338th, 339th, 340th, 341st, 342nd, 343rd, 344th, 345th, 346th, 347th, 348th, 349th, 350th, 351st, 352nd, 353rd, 354th, 355th, 356th, 357th, 358th, 359th, 360th, 361st, 362nd, 363rd, 364th, 365th, 366th, 367th, 368th, 369th, 370th, 371st, 372nd, 373rd, 374th, 375th, 376th, 377th, 378th, 379th, 380th, 381st, 382nd, 383rd, 384th, 385th, 386th, 387th, 388th, 389th, 390th, 391st, 392nd, 393rd, 394th, 395th, 396th, 397th, 398th, 399th, 400th, 401st, 402nd, 403rd, 404th, 405th, 406th, 407th, 408th, 409th, 410th, 411st, 412th, 413th, 414th, 415th, 416th, 417th, 418th, 419th, 420th, 421st, 422nd, 423rd, 424th, 425th, 426th, 427th, 428th, 429th, 430th, 431st, 432nd, 433rd, 434th, 435th, 436th, 437th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 442nd, 443rd, 444th, 445th, 446th, 447th, 448th, 449th, 450th, 451st, 452nd, 453rd, 454th, 455th, 456th, 457th, 458th, 459th, 460th, 461st, 462nd, 463rd, 464th, 465th, 466th, 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 471st, 472nd, 473rd, 474th, 475th, 476th, 477th, 478th, 479th, 480th, 481st, 482nd, 483rd, 484th, 485th, 486th, 487th, 488th, 489th, 490th, 491st, 492nd, 493rd, 494th, 495th, 496th, 497th, 498th, 499th, 500th, 501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th, 505th, 506th, 507th, 508th, 509th, 510th, 511st, 512th, 513th, 514th, 515th, 516th, 517th, 518th, 519th, 520th, 521st, 522nd, 523rd, 524th, 525th, 526th, 527th, 528th, 529th, 530th, 531st, 532nd, 533rd, 534th, 535th, 536th, 537th, 538th, 539th, 540th, 541st, 542nd, 543rd, 544th, 545th, 546th, 547th, 548th, 549th, 550th, 551st, 552nd, 553rd, 554th, 555th, 556th, 557th, 558th, 559th, 560th, 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 564th, 565th, 566th, 567th, 568th, 569th, 570th, 571st, 572nd, 573rd, 574th, 575th, 576th, 577th, 578th, 579th, 580th, 581st, 582nd, 583rd, 584th, 585th, 586th, 587th, 588th, 589th, 590th, 591st, 592nd, 593rd, 594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611st, 612th, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th,



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XXXII.

to suggest the questions and answers of his inter-  
view. But as this form of trial might be deemed  
partial and arbitrary, the further inquiry into  
the crimes of Timotheus was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of consular  
rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law  
of the emperor Valens. The appearance of a  
fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the  
blunt honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with  
reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his col-  
league, who pronounced a sentence of condemna-  
tion against the unfortunate Timotheus. His im-  
mense riches were confiscated, in the name of the  
emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and  
he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a  
solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of  
Libya.\* Secluded from all human converse,  
the minister-general of the Roman armies was lost  
for ever to the world; but the circumstances of  
his fate have been related by a variety and con-  
tradictory authors. It is insinuated, that Eutro-  
pius dispatched a private order for his secret  
execution.† It was reported, that, in attempt-  
ing to escape from Oasis, he perished in the

\* The great Oasis was one of the spots in the midst of Libya, wa-  
tered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and  
oil-olives. It was about three days journey from Syene to south,  
about half a day to Lybia, and at the distance of about six days  
north to the west of Alexandria, on the same line of direction. Diodorus  
de l'Egypte, p. 186, 187, 188. The famous desert which corresponds  
Oasis, (Gassara, &c.) p. 203, has improved the idea of a singular  
territory, and even the spot of the desert island. (Gassara, &c.)

† The case of Claudius, de Eutrope, l. ii. c. 10.

Minimam enim, tuncque evasit. (Gassara, &c.)

essentially similar to the pretence of the death of Timotheus.

desert, of thirst and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.\* It has been asserted, with more confidence, that his son Brutus, after successfully leading the pursuit of the agents and satellites of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Titinius from the place of his captivity; and that both the father and son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.† But the wretched Brutus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards decapitated and destroyed, by the more powerful villainy of the minister himself, who retained some and spent enough to alter the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred and the despair of individuals, continuously threatened, or doomed to threaten, the personal safety of Entrophius; as well as of the numerous adherents, who were attached to his fortune, and had been persecuted by his cruel former. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which exalted every principle of humanity and justice.‡ It is enacted in the name and by the authority

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THAT BY, of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects, or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphorical treason is extended to protect not only the illustrious officers of the state and army, who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces: a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Constantine, included an obscure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might perhaps be justified, had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of imperial dependants claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them, in the loosest moments of their lives, from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow-citizens; and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absolutely declares, that in such cases of treason, thoughts and actions ought to be punished with equal severity; that the knowledge of a malicious intention, unless it be instantly revealed,

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XXXII.

business equally criminal with the intention itself: and that those rash men, who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors, shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. — With regard to the sons of the "traitors," (continued the emperor), "although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably imitate the guilt, of their parents: yet, by the special effort of our imperial clemency, we grant them their lives: but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy, from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law, which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had secreted, or who had not disclosed, these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest re-

1. *Pariter et de hisce a legibus et statuta cunctis, rebusque omnibus et conditionibus uti liceat. Per hoc optatum, says Bellonius, he is now wearing his bath — *Ecce nunc vultu patitur* the ancient *Huic vultu*, (Glosses, *Just. Code*, 2. 12, p. 211). I could suppose the death of Nero's son, but in private I should desire to see a monument of Nero. Yet *Domitian* was greatly grieved by the law of *Caracalla* and *Commodus* was not without guilt of the murder of the victims of *Thrasa*.*



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dora, A. D.  
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gulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome.\*

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a degraded and dispirited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild† the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia,‡ impatiently compared the slow returns of laborious husbandry with the successful rapine and liberal rewards of Alaric; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonished by the sound of war; and

\* Godolphus, *luc. de p. 16.* It is, however, disputed, that this act, so repugnant to the notions of human freedom, has been constitutionally adopted by the golden bull.

† I suppose this Theodosian edictive (which he might have executed by more important means) is mentioned by Theodorus A. v. p. 204-212 on the revolt of Tribigild and Isaurus. See likewise Theodorus, l. vi. c. 8. and Theodorus, l. viii. c. 1. The second kind of rebellion against Theodosius, is a less, though important, piece of history.

‡ Theodorus de Rebus, l. ii. 211-214 very accurately sheweth, that the ancient make and nation of the Phrygians extended very far beyond what all their limits were contained by the ruins of the Kingdom of Tarsus, of the Lycia, and of part of the Galia. His description of the history of Phrygia, and of the manner that produced gold, is just and picturesque.

the faithful vassal, who had been disregarded or oppressed, was again respected, as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the capital Mursyas and the winding Alexander,\* were consumed with fire; the decayed walls of the city crumbled into dust, at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostrogoths, attacked in a narrow pass, between the city of Selgas,\* a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by swarms of barbarians and outlaws, who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conquest. The rumours of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear, or disguised by flattery.

\* *Xerophloeus* *Ammonius*, l. v, p. 11, 22, with *Hutchinson*. *Stokes*, l. vi, p. 383, with *Ammon*. *Qu. Crust.* l. v, p. 1. *Climacium* occupies the junction of the Maryland and Delaware to that of the Susquehanna and the Hohen; with this difference, however, that the mouth of the Virginia river is not articulated, but coalesced, by the ligula.

- Sligo, a colony of the Landoona, had formerly numbered twenty thousand Indians; but in the age of Zoroaster it was reduced to a village, or small town. See Callistus, Geography, Sicily, item, the S. III.



and the dulness of his mind, was surmised the Apex of the East, had deserted his original trade, of a woodchamber, to exercise, with much less skill and success, the military profession: and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The rashness of the Orogonths had driven them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Mimas and Euxineæda, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans, in the darkness of the night: seduced the faith of the greater part of the barbarian auxiliaries, and dissipated, without much effort, the troops, which had been corrupted by the relaxation of discipline, and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Valens, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the servile reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic, as well as by a national, alliance.\* When Gainas passed

\* The conspiracy of Tribigild and Tribigild, which is related by the Greek historians, told not without the aid of Christian, who was the ally of the Orogonths for the most martial spirit, and the ally of his wife.



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XXXI.  
CONTINUED.

the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, he skillfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths: abandoning, by his retreat, the country which they desired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the desertion of the barbarian auxiliaries. To the Imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild: confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius, revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

*Fall of Theodosius.*  
A. D. 408.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of history, by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals, who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius; he was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult,\* which she

\* This anecdote, which Palladius alone has preserved, is taken from the *Historia Gothorum*, p. 411-412. It is variously and unjustly altered through the press of the editors; and the very language of the notice.

imputed to the audacious eunuch. The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations, that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely, or profanely, attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a reasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries, and the instability of human greatness. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the people.<sup>1</sup> The powers of humanity,

<sup>1</sup> See the *History of Chrysostom*, tom. iii. p. 264-266, of which the fourth edition is particularly beautiful. See also, *Life of Theodoret*, t. ii. p. 1. M. de Meaux (in his *Life of Chrysostom*, tom. iii. p. 225) has lately suggested that Theodoret was actually in Constantinople and

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of superstition, and of eloquence, pretailed. The empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctity of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath, that his life should be spared.\* Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict; to declare, that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statutes, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of Cyprus.† A despicable and decrepid eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner

that he recommended the palace who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Constantine, a pagan, says, *Quidam ad eum se dedere. Ille non sustinuit, sed fugit ad locum suum in insula Cypro.*

*Supplicatusque post, Eutropius promittens ad eum.*

*Ut non locum suum tradiderit eunuchis.*

\* Chrysostom, de *Imperiali Beneficio*, tom. vi. p. 128, asserts positively, that Eutropius would not have been taken; but he has discovered that Lucius Tacitus, lib. x. p. 413, on the contrary, asserts, that his enemies forced him, *ad promittendum, nequitia sua se dederet.* The old promise is an evidence of some truth; and the strong suspicion of Constantine, *Strabo*, lib. x. p. 413, †

*Quod Eutropius deditur non, sed eunuchis.*

may be considered as an evidence of some promise.

† *Eccl. Theod. l. ix. c. 24. sup. lib. 11.* The date of this law, *anno D. N. 324*, is uncertain and wrong; since the date of Eutropius would not happen till the autumn of the same year. The *Tribunician*, *Honorific*, *Imperial*, was, *Yo. 4. 126.*

landed the shores of Cyprus, then he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, enraged the emperor to transfer the scene of his trial and execution, from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcidæon. The emperor Aurelian pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the perfidy of a despotic government. The crimes which Entropius had committed against the people, might have justified his death: but he was found guilty of harrowing to his chariot the *senes sedatores*, who, from their breed or colour, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.<sup>1</sup>

While this domestic revolution was transacting, Gaisas<sup>2</sup> openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Tapatia in Lydia, with those of Teirigast; and still maintained his superior ascendancy over the rebellious leader of the Ostragoths. The confederate armies advanced, without resistance, to the straits of the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions, by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcidæon,<sup>3</sup> was chosen for the

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Conspiracy  
and fall of  
Entropius.  
A. D. 260.

<sup>1</sup> Zonaras, l. vi. p. 314. — Eusebius, h. e. v. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Zonaras, c. 5. p. 315. — Sozomen, h. e. vi. c. 11; Agapetus, de vita et moribus Theodosii, l. v. c. 23. The reputation which was given to the confederates, the conspiracy, rebellion, and death of Entropius.

<sup>3</sup> See a full and accurate account of the arguments of Zonaras, l. vi. c. 14, with that variety and fullness of language of the Eusebius.



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CONTINUATION.

place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Arcadius and Saturninus, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed, by the haughty rebel, to the edge of the sword, till he condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependants, the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant, and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of calumny and detraction; and his indiscreet, or perfidious, conduct, was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the archbishops, he importunately claimed, for his Arian sectaries, the possession of a peculiar church; and the pride of the catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy.\* Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and dissension; and the barbarians gazed

Constantinople. See also the description of it, in The History, vol. i. c. 10. where, among other particulars of that celebrated church, is related the general council of Constantinople, which afterwards held.

\* The general proceedings of this council, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly supported by Theodoret; but his declaration, that they were erroneously ascribed to him. Tillmanns *Historia des Concilii*, tom. i. p. 105, has discovered, that the emperor, in settling the projected division of Galatia, had obliged to send the place of the church of the Apostles.

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with such violence on the rich shops of the jewelers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove these dangerous temptations from their sight. They resented the injurious prosecution; and some daring attempts were made, during the night, to attack and destroy with fire the imperial palace.\* In this state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards, and the people of Constantinople, shut the gates, and rose in arms to prevent, or to punish, the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas, his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design, or too confident of his success: he was astonished by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Prætextas, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel, against the cities of Thracia, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of

\* The professional historians, who sometimes grieve, and sometimes rejoice, that giddy officers, would probably assert that the people of Constantinople was guided by legends of magic.

CHAP. the fortifications; and Gaisas, who vainly as-  
 sumed the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced  
 a desperate resolution of having the passage of  
 the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels; but  
 the woods of the Thracians afforded materials  
 for galleys; and the labouring barbarians did not  
 refuse to trust themselves in the waves. But Pra-  
 xiteles attentively watched the progress of their  
 undertaking. As soon as they had gained the  
 middle of the straits, the Roman galleys,\* im-  
 pelled by the full force, of sails, of the current,  
 and of a favourable wind, rushed forwards in  
 compact order, and with irresistible weight; and  
 the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of  
 the Gothic ships. After the destruction of  
 his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his  
 bravest soldiers, Gaisas, who could no longer  
 aspire to govern, or to subdue, the Romans,  
 determined to franchise the independence of a sa-  
 vage life. A light and active body of barbarian  
 horse, disengaged from their infantry and baggage,  
 might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of  
 five hundred miles from the Hellespont to the  
 Danube; the garrisons of that extensive frontier

\* Zosimus (l. i. p. 517), attributes their success to the prompt aid of the winds, and observes, that this was in itself sufficient to explain the different success of the Greeks in the several years they sailed, and that they could not therefore be ascribed to the superiority which had been long claimed. Yet he passes over completely, either the numbers of Praxiteles, that captain of a little galley only, and those embarked in the *Phaia* were. Even the number itself of the Roman galleys, were the *Hellespontinae*, the number yet of sailing ships, if it was told precisely, must necessarily, and be largely forgotten.

\* Zosimus's account, p. 51-53, 77, 78, is borrowed from Gaisas, through the Hellespont, to the Danube, in about fifteen days. The sea





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 A. D. 401.  
 January 2.

*enemy*, he was slain, with his desperate followers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of Gains, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople, with the most liberal expressions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the subject of epic poems;<sup>a</sup> and the monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and useful Eudoxia, who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

Earlier  
and result  
of Chry-  
sostom.  
A. D. 403.  
Feb. 28.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutrophus seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the East, he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias (Elaborations) supposed much time by his poem on the Colossus war, in which he had served. Some forty years afterwards, Antoninus met and admired poems on the same subject, in the presence of the emperor Theodosius. See *Strabo*, l. vi. c. 4. 6.

<sup>b</sup> The early loss of Severus, the flight of Severus, and the flight of Theodosius, and the various and authentic sources for the life of John.

A private order was despatched to the governor of Syria: and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported with speed and secrecy, in a post-chariot, from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister: and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skillful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius: and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed, that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His party soon disposed

Like Chrysostom. Besides these general volumes, I have taken the opportunity the first principal biography of the sect. 1. The author of a pithy and judicious Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his ancient patron, Pyladius, bishop of Makhopis, (Pyladius, Mon. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 320-335.) It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. viii. p. 1496, ed. Montanum. 2. The learned Erasmus, tom. iii. epist. viii. p. 1223-1241, with Latin. Par. 3. His virility and good sense soon he cured his errors, in the constant use of polemical sagacity, were almost inevitable. 3. The learned Pyladius, (Mon. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 1-335.) 4. The author of a pithy and judicious Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his ancient patron, Pyladius, bishop of Makhopis, (Pyladius, Mon. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 320-335.) It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. viii. p. 1496, ed. Montanum. 5. The learned Erasmus, tom. iii. epist. viii. p. 1223-1241, with Latin. Par. 6. His virility and good sense soon he cured his errors, in the constant use of polemical sagacity, were almost inevitable. 7. The learned Pyladius, (Mon. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 1-335.) 8. The author of a pithy and judicious Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his ancient patron, Pyladius, bishop of Makhopis, (Pyladius, Mon. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 320-335.) It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. viii. p. 1496, ed. Montanum.

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 how to receive the sacrament of baptism; to resume the lucrative and honourable profession of the law, and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the church: but in the midst of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the ascetic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes, who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop, to the amusements of the theatre, or the circus. The exorcismata of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand remains, or homilies, has authorised the critics of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to measure the advantages which he derived

\* And not least a witness to the extensive reputation of Chrysostom, I have given my subscribers to the first and second editions and multiple of the *ecclesiastical history*, *Constantinople*, 1666, 16, p. 1134b, and *Tracts*, *Chrysostomus*, *Trinitatis*, 1666, 16, p. 1134, per the goodness of the *Library* is sometimes offered by an excellent book of *scripture*, and the good *interest* of the *Library* is always conveyed to *ecclesiastical* considerations.



from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; CHAP. XXXII.  
 an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and simi-  
 litudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate  
 the most familiar topics: the happy art of en-  
 gaging the passions in the service of virtue; and  
 of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude,  
 of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a  
 dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop of the ac-  
 celeration  
 and de-  
 fence.  
 Constantinople provoked, and gradually united  
 against him, two sorts of enemies: the aspiring  
 clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate  
 sinners, who were offended by his reproofs.  
 When Chrysostom thundered, from the pulpit of  
 St. Sophia, against the degeneracy of the Chris-  
 tians, his shafts were spent among the crowd,  
 without wounding, or even marking, the character  
 of any individual. When he declaimed against  
 the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might ob-  
 tain a transient consolation from his invectives;  
 but the guilty were still seduced by their num-  
 bers; and the reproach itself was discoloured by  
 some ideas of superiority, and enjoyment. But  
 as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it in-  
 evitably diminished to a point; and the mag-  
 istrates, the ministers, the favourite eunuchs, the  
 'Jukes of the court,' the august Euluxia

The Jukes of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their  
 simplicity or their ostentation in Chrysostom's time. These vulgar and un-  
 happy wretches, Meurs, Avarice, and Envy, were the pillars of the  
 government (Futur. History, tom. i. p. 116). It was especially that  
 they always kept a good eye on the emperor, who was constantly at-  
 tended by the grandees of Rome, their eyes were open (Futur.  
 p. 122). Chrysostom, by equal unity, displayed in a more private place,  
 but abused the rule of vice. The Torrent, Nott. Lat. tom. 41.  
 424-430.



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XXIII  
\*\*\*\*\*

herself, had a much larger share of guilt, to divide among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the testimony of their own consciences; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence, and the offender, to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too basely reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the names of servants, or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin, or of scandal. The silent and solitary nuns, who had secluded themselves from the world, were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatized, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion, the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition.\* Although he struggled, un-

\* Erasmus, and some especially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chrysostom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very different to his just admirers. These historians lived in the  
end

conformed to the precepts of the gospel, to live  
 his private virtues, he indulged himself in the  
 privilege of being the vicar of God, and of  
 the church; and his sentiments were sometimes  
 delivered with too much energy of countenance  
 and expression. He still maintained, from some  
 considerations of health or convenience, his for-  
 mer habit of taking his repose alone; and this  
 imperious custom, which his enemies imputed  
 to pride, contributed, at least, to nourish the  
 infirmity of a morose and unsocial humor. Se-  
 parated from that familiar intercourse, which  
 facilitates the knowledge and the despatch of  
 business, he repoted an unhesitating confidence  
 in his demon-Scraps; and seldom applied his  
 speculative knowledge of human nature to the  
 particular characters, either of his dependants,  
 or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his  
 intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his  
 genius, the archbishop of Constantinople ex-  
 tended the jurisdiction of the imperial city, that  
 he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral  
 labors; and the sanctity which the profane  
 imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to  
 Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and

CHAPMAN,  
N. H. S. P.

and sometimes, when going through the library, would be surprised with a very personable and friendly staff. The library is the institution of the title.

1. *Philosophy* (1840, 1841, p. 42, 43). *NOT* written. Attacks the notion of a "Moral Government." 2. *The weakness of the doctrine of original sin* (1841). 3. *Disunion*, in *Study*, p. 2, attacking those who are "for the Union, at the expense of the souls and liberty of government." 4. He went on arguing for the rest of the year. 5. He was apprehensive, in a circular letter, of the danger of a breach of partial disunion.

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XXXII,  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lycaonia and Phrygia; and indiscreetly declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order. If these bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous necessities of their guilt would soon discover, that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the eastern church.

Chrysostom is persecuted by Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 405.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus,\* archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who displayed the fruits of avarice in monuments of ostentation. His antipathial dislike to the rising greatness of a city, which degraded him from the second, to the third rank, in the Christian world, was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself. By the private invitation of the emperors, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian monks, to

\* Eusebius, *ecclesiastical history*, lib. x. c. 22, in Act. April. p. 275, that the number of monks, who might be spared, was a very small proportion to those who would be retained.

\* See Tillamont, *Mem. Eusebii*, lib. 2, p. 481-500.

\* I have justlyly noticed the insincerity which was among the monks of Egypt, concerning Theophilus and Dioscorus; the dissimulation and violence in Theophilus; his ardent attachment to the simplicity of Epiphanius; the insupportable depth of the heap of sin, which the ambiguous support which they received in Constantinople from Chrysostom, &c. &c.

encounter the populace; and a train of dependant bishops, to secure, by their voices, the majority of a synod. The synod<sup>a</sup> was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon, surmounted the Ost, where Theodosius had erected a stately church and monastery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days, or sessions. A bishop and a deacon accused the archbishop of Constantinople; but the freedom or inevitable nature of the forty-seven articles which they presented against him, may justly be considered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four successive summons were signified to Chrysostom; but he still refused to trust either his person, or his reputation, in the hands of his implacable enemies, who, prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The synod of the Ost immediately addressed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably insinuated, that the penalties of treason might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jerebel, the empress Eudoxia herself. The archbishop was rudely arrested, and conducted through the city, by one of the imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the

<sup>a</sup> Theodosius the Great had convened the original body of the synod at the Ost, which during the first session, that Chrysostom was condemned by an equal vote thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-one were Egyptians. Forty-two bishops subscribed his sentence. — See Tillamont, *Mem. Eusebii* tom. 2. p. 284.



CHAP.  
XXIII.

Regular  
Councils of  
Constantinople  
754.

Thaxion; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had soon subsided, and passion they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped; but the promiscuous crowd of monk and Egyptian marabout were slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople. A remarkable earthquake rent the interposition of heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the emperor, agitated by fear or remorse, threw himself at the feet of Arcadius, and confessed that the public safety could be purchased only by the respiration of Christianity. The Euphrates was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were perfectly inundated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the patriarch; who, too easily, consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against female vices; and con-

<sup>1</sup> I have taken care to show that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Several traditions in the 17th century relate the death of Theophilus, in which many women were slayed, and some were crucified. The account of the events is preserved only by the great Theodoret, in c. 24, who acknowledges that Chrysostom had a message taken to him the Theophilus had taken, of your subjects, who might have been persecuted.

denuded the profane licence which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statues of the emperors. His imprudence incited his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances: she once more requires the head of John;" an insolent allusion, which any woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive.\* The short interval of a pernicious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence: and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter, the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who abused the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Anacletus occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiscopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Constantine, and afterwards to the fields: where they were still pursued and insulted by the

\* See *Gregory, l. vi. c. 18*; *Sozomen, l. vii. c. 18*. Zambart *l. c.*, p. 374, 375) mentions, as general cause, the quarrels against Eudoxia. The story, which begins with these famous words, is presented as genuine. *Marcellinus, tom. i. lib. 7. tit. 18*. *Epiphanius, Hæres. lxxviii. tom. 2. p. 803*.

CHAP. XXIII. guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings: and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.

Fall of  
Chrysos-  
tom, A. D.  
403, June  
20.

Chrysostom might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic: but the submission of Chrysostom was the indispensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reside at Cyzicus, or Nicomedia, the indelible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. A secret hope was entertained, that the archbishop might perish in a difficult and dangerous march of seventy days, in the heat of summer, through the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Isaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he spent at Cucus, and the neighbouring town of Anabazus, were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by abun-

<sup>1</sup> We might naturally expect some charge from Julian, the emperor; but it is remarkable enough that it should be omitted by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18; and the *Paral. Chronicle*, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> He signifies three years, because of our Redeemer's 33 years in the language of an exile and a prisoner.

and persecutions; the faults of his administration were not long remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue: and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Tournai. From that solitude, the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by afflictions, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregations of his faithful adherents to perseverance in their allegiances; urged the destruction of the temples of Paganism, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia: negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appeared, from a partial synod, in the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent: but his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Atrebas.<sup>1</sup> An order was despatched for the

Two hundred and thirteen of the copies of *Chrysomela* are still extant, 105 at. Am. M. p. 178-184. They are sold most at a great variety of prices, and there is a decided opinion, quite opposite to that of Coen as far as this. The illustration is that a serious violation of the dignity of the picture.

[illegible]



CHAP. instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme  
 XXXII. desert of Pityus: and his guards so faithfully  
 obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he  
 reached the seacoast of the Euxine, he expired.  
 His death. A. D. 407,  
 Sept. 18.  
 The succeeding generation acknowledged  
 his innocence and merit. The archbishops of  
 the East, who might blush that their predecessors  
 had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gra-  
 dually disposed, by the firmness of the Roman  
 pontiff, to restore the honours of that venerable  
 name.<sup>1</sup> At the pious solicitation of the clergy  
 and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty  
 years after his death, were transported from their  
 obscure sepulchre to the royal city.<sup>2</sup> The em-  
 peror Theodosius advanced to receive them as  
 far as Chalcedony and, falling prostrate on the  
 coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty pa-  
 rents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of  
 the injured saint.<sup>3</sup>

His relics  
 transported  
 to Constantinople.  
 A. D. 438,  
 Jan. 27.

From Theophrastus, according to the shipping performance from Corin-  
 thian Latin. See *Epistolarum Theophrasti ad Aristum*, p. 10. *Opera*, A. D.  
 1622, published by Dursius. Opera, Tom. II. p. 220, 224, 227.

<sup>1</sup> His name was inserted by his successor Ammon in the *Hypotypicon*  
 of the church of Constantinople, A. D. 418. Ten years afterwards  
 he was covered with gold. Cyril, who inherited the place, and the  
 possession, of his uncle Theophrastus, yielded with much reluctance  
 the sacred Reliquies, &c. to the Theodosian Monks. See *Actes*, tom. III.  
 p. 217-223.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia*, l. vii. c. 44. *Theophrastus*, l. vii. c. 56. This event corre-  
 sponds the *Journal*, who had before refused to acknowledge his  
 recovery. During his lifetime, the *Journal* was respected by the  
 multitude, as the true and orthodox interpretation of Constantinople.  
 That obnoxious gradually drove them to the brink of schism.

<sup>3</sup> According to some accounts, Theodosius, August. *Ecclies*, A. D.  
 438, No. 2. 179. the emperor was forced to make better of situation  
 and violence before the body of the companion saint could be moved  
 from Corinthe.

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained, whether any stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Aeneas to his successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passion, and despoiled her husband: Constantine enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the emperor: and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger.\* The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband, as an event the most fortunate and benignant to himself, to his family, and to the eastern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,\* who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to surmise, that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The catholics regarded the justice of heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom, and perhaps the emperor was

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

吉原集仁

The death  
of Aaron  
Dart,  
A. B. 1840,  
May 1.

[illegible]

— *Murphy's of Cairo* — This vessel was transported by the order — which we had obtained for the Government of Egypt — from the British of that city — the various details of her sale, (London, &c. To Vol. IV. I have, accordingly, written the Clerk, appropriate in my duty by a number of Vol. IV. London, &c. &c.

CHAP.  
XXXII.

THE HISTORY OF THE

the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune affected him more deeply than the public calamities of the East; the licentious excursions from Pontus to Palestine, of the Isaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts,\* which the popular discontent was equally disposed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years three months and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character, since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.

The sage-  
ness of Ari-  
starchus.

The historian Procopius† has indeed illumina-  
ated the mind of this dying emperor with a ray  
of human prudence, or celestial wisdom. Arca-  
dius considered, with anxious foresight, the help-  
less condition of his son Theodosius, who was no  
more than seven years of age; the dangerous fac-  
tions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of

\* Procopius, l. vi. c. 8, and *History of the Wars*, p. 441.

† *History of the Wars*, l. vi. c. 10, describes in lively colours the sight-  
ing and destruction of the emperor Arcadius spread in blood and  
brandy, during which some of the Isaurian robbers, who were  
killed, carried off the emperor's body, and took it to the city of  
Macedonia.

† Procopius, *de Bello Persico*, l. i. c. 1, p. 8, edit. Lovani.

Jeraleger, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject, by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the East in the hands of Jeraleger himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honourable trust with unexampled fidelity: and the infancy of Theodorus was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathangas,\* while he presumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor, who scrupulously, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated by the edicts of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the propriety, till he has ascertained the truth of the testament of Artabanus. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require, that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their un-

\* Agathangas, l. vi. p. 124, 125. Although he condemns the pretensions of the tradition, he asserts that Theodorus was first elected emperor, and then crowned. Following with the Emperor, l. vi. c. 12, he argues not possibly in the month of May 529. His note upon this text is copied by our anonymous translator; from Procopius and Agathangas for both pages.



CHAP.  
XXXII.

Admin-  
istration of  
Justice.  
A. D. 408.  
415.

vernal silence mutilates the rich tradition of the succeeding age.

The masses of Roman jurisprudence, if they could be fairly transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and each was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed, with less reluctance, the orders of the Persian, than those of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of majesty and discretion, the most worthless favourites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master, whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the perfect Anthemius,\* who obtained, by his

\* *Historia*, l. vi. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandson of Flavius, one of the emperors of Constantinople, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius. After his power began, the Persian embassy, in

superior abilities, a lasting ascendancy over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable host of barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thracia; he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and pointing to the rising sun, declared to the Roman ambassadors, that the course of that planet should alone terminate the conquests of the Huns. But the desertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the justice and liberality of the imperial ministers, obliged Uldin to retrace the Danube: the tribe of the Scythi, which composed his rear-guard, was almost extirpated; and many thousand captives were dispersed to cultivate, with servile labour, the fields of Asia.\* In the midst of the public triumph, Constantinople was protected by a strong inclosure of new and more extensive walls; the same vigilant care was applied to restore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciously conceived, which, in the space of seven years, would have secured the command of the Danube, by establishing on that river's perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed vessels.†

was apparently casual and fortuitous product of the hour, in the year 446; and lasted the year and a half. See the account and picture of Gundrey, *East-India Ann.* vi. p. 129. Tallemaut, *Stat. des Emp. Rom.* iv. p. 1, 2, 3.

\* *Procopius* l. iv. c. 12. He saw some Greeks at work near Mount Olympus, in Bithynia, and observed the same sort of small degrees were the fate of the people.

† *Coel. Theod.* l. vii. c. 17, 18; l. viii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

CHAP.  
XXXII.

Continued and abridg-  
ment of Pub-  
lius, 414.  
415.

But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females, of the imperial family, who displayed any courtesy or civility, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria,\* who was only two years older than himself, received, at the age of sixteen, the title of Augustæ: and though her favour might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the eastern empire near forty years: during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a mixture, either of prudence, or religion, she enforced a line of sobriety; and notwithstanding some incursions on the chastity of Pulcheria,† this resolution, which she communicated to her sisters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Christian world, as the sublime effort of heroic piety. In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius‡ dedicated their virginity to God: and the obligation of their solemn vow

\* According to the MSS. some suppose, with a suggestion, proposed by Puchierus, B. IV. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

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\* See Puchierus, B. IV. c. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 42



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*Constantine*

was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople. Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress; interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendid churches, which were built at the expense of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the East; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity: and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the imperial saint.\*

\* The most remarkable, by legend directed, is the place where the vision of the holy martyrs had been heard. The ground had consequently belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople.



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THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his usual spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking, or writing, on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and, while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor, the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject; and since we cannot applaud the victor, some praise may be due to the mildness, and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

Education  
and character of  
Theodosius the  
younger.

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of

epic, he is mentioned as Hesiodus poeta, and as a church of St. Theodosius, erected by Constantine, who was created A. D. 397; and the memory of the emperor was almost universal. Notwithstanding the character ascribed to Dr. Zeller, (Hermes, tom. ii. p. 434), it is not easy to suppose Pulcheria of more than the same kind; what must have been transacted when she was more than five and thirty years of age.

the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy: the most skilled masters of the East matronously collected the attention of their royal pupil; and several noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government: but her precepts may maintain some suspicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter; to listen with condescension; to return suitable answers; to assume, by turns, a serious or a placid countenance; in a word, to represent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius was too far excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name; and instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may

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< There is a considerable difference between the two political systems, who proposed this system a monarchism. According to it, call another to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; which she severely endeavored to pursue. However, though he effectively destroyed all hopes of Rome or East, continued an immense progress on the throne, and constantly improved the minds of his subjects, as he, c. II. 875. His reign is c. 115. It expresses the influence of Pulcheria in peace and war, his religious and political measures, and his death. See the History of the Empire, c. 115. and the History of Theodosius, and I have followed the philosophy of Theodosius from c. 115. to the end of his reign, and the end of the Empire.

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presumed to measure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent, whose lessons were enforced by his authority, and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amusements, and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of *Calligraphus*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, the acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was elastic, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues, when they are supported by courage, and



regulated by discretion, were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: he fasted, he sung psalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines, with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the catholic church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had just an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.\*

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if such a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais<sup>b</sup> was educated by her father Iasonius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks; and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his contemporaries,

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Character  
and adventures  
of  
the em-  
press The-  
odora,  
A. D. 453-  
459.

\* Theodoret, l. v. c. 22. The bishop of Cyrrhus, one of our divines of his age for his learning and piety, applied the excommunication of Theodosius to the British king.

<sup>b</sup> Socrates (l. vi. c. 39) mentions her name; Athenais, the daughter of Iasonius, an Athenian senator, her husband, her age, and personal graces. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malala, (scilicet l. ix. c. 26. 27, edit. Vossii, 1743, and in the *Partheu. Clementis*, pp. 211, 212). These authors had probably some original persons of the emperor's family. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c. have depicted the lady rather than the saint, of our time. From Narsacutus, indeed, I have written, "A woman was aged. The years of a woman's youth and love (imagined) were Athenais 453 years twenty-eight years old when she reigned. Her reign of a woman's empire."



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that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and aversion of her brothers soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople; and, with some hopes, either of justice or favour, to throw herself at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquent complaints; and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the East, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother, by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion, golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanour, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin: the modest youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Eudocia: but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Augusta, till the wife of Theodosius had approved her faithfulness by the birth of a daughter, who espoused, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the West. The

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brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her imperial summons: but as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister, by promoting them to the rank of consuls and prefects. In the luxury of the palace, she still cultivated those ingenious arts, which had contributed to her greatness; and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion, and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah: a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Persian victories of Theodosius: and her writings, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism.\* The fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and possession: and Eudocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her ostentatious progress through the East may seem inconsistent with the spirit of Christian humility: she pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared

\* *Socrus*, l. vii. c. 25. *Photus*, p. 412. 491. The *Hemeris* seems to have existed, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia to that inspired performance is disputed by the critics. See *Palmieri*, *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. i. p. 253. The *Stasis*, a celebrated scene of tragedy in history and fable, is ascribed to another emperor of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century: and the work is still extant in manuscript.

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her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, bestowed a sum of two hundred pounds of gold to restore the public baths, and accepted the statutes, which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her aims and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the conscious satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.\* But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the eastern empire: the palace was distracted by female discord; but the victory was at last decided, by the superior ascendancy of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of Paulinus, master of the officers, and the disgrace of Cyrus, prætorian prefect of the East, convinced the public, that the favour of Eudocia was insufficient to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the secret rumor, that his god was that of a successful lover.† As soon as the

\* Eusebius, *Antiq. lib. vi. c. 28, 42* (1) is consistent with Goltz, who has a record of her giving the host of St. Stephen to the church of Antioch.

† In this short piece of the history of Eudocia, I have inserted the account of Euphoras, *lib. vi. c. 11*, and some Harpocration, *de Gram. l. vi. § 10* (1) (2). The two incidents were certainly in the reign.



empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request; but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat: and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two eunuchs, her most favoured servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count: the furious passions, which she indulged on this suspicious occasion, seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stript of the honours of her rank, was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the society of the holy monks of Palestine, immensely confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired, at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age; protesting, with her dying breath,

latter, overturn a great part of the Greek history; and the celebrated monk of the apple-tree is to bury the Arabian Nights, whose pure origin and very unlike it only he found.

Proper, Dr. Baines, *ibid.* p. 101, a contemporary, and a narrative, deeply mutilated, her pages, and Chalmers' account, without adding any thing of interest or respect.



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The Pers-  
ians, 905,  
A. D. 482.

that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship.<sup>b</sup>

The gentle mind of Theodorus was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest, or military renown; and the slight alarm of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the East. The motives of this war were just and honourable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodorus, a bishop, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa.<sup>c</sup> His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his son Varnanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. Some Christian fugitives, who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded, and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia, and the plains of Meo-

<sup>b</sup> For the two pilgrimages of Theodos, and her long residence at Jerusalem, see *deaconus*, above, *Act. sanct. Theodosii*, c. vii. n. 171, and *Evagrius*, c. l. c. 51. 52. 53. The *Passio* Chronicle may sometimes deserve regard; and in the dramatic history of *Aluabius*, John Malala (see above, § 10) is of good authority. The *Abbas* Genesis is a account of the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculating the gift of Theodos at 20,000 pounds of gold above 800,000 pounds sterling.

<sup>c</sup> Theodoret, l. v. c. 38. Theodoret, *Mus. Theod. Act.* c. 1, p. 246. 247. *Assemanus*, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iii. p. 244; tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the weakness of Theodos, but excels the candour of his historians. Yet I do not easily understand the economy which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unthinkingly committed.

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plains, were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long-lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city, by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the apostle. Yet the splendid victories, which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians\* of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and, perhaps, fabulous, tales of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and despatched by the sword, of Arcobindus the Gothic of the ten thousand *Immortals*, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Eufrates. Such events may be disbelieved, or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost to oblivion. Boldly declaring that vases of gold and silver are useless to a god who neither eats

\* Eusebius vi. c. 14, 19, 22, 23 is the best author for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the third Chronicle, the *Fasti*, and those of Theodoret and Sozomen.

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nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amidai; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself, that Arsacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power: when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near four-score years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Armenia  
avoided the  
ravages the  
Persians  
and the  
Romans.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia\* was alternately oppressed

\* The account of the ruin and decline of the Kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Chorsene. However, as he is in every instance a good historian, his last information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly manifest in a notice and commentary. Therefore the following is not, as it is, so much the same, but in a very different manner; but I have corrected the circumstances that were possible in themselves, and the least inconsistent with those of Chorsene.



by its formidable protectors; and, in the course of this History, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces ingenuously submitted to the house of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the *Christian* princes of Constantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progress of war and faction; and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the country; while the western provinces acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces, and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arsaces, the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodosiopolis\* was built and fortified in

\* The western Armenians used the Greek language and characters in their religious affairs; but the use of their native tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac, till the revocation of the Armenian letters by Mesrop, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the bible into the Armenian language; a version which related the conversion of the church and nation with Constantinople.

\* *Meurs. Chron.* l. iii. c. 38, p. 309 and p. 428. *Philopon. de Edificiis*, l. ii. c. 4. Theodosiopolis stands, as rather usual, about sixty-



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A strong situation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependant territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Persian court; and returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Choaroes for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Choaroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is expressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared, that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor, who would punish, without destroying, the sinner. "Our king," continued Isaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are

" flagitious. I will never consent to abandon  
 " my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and  
 " you would soon repent your rash exchange of  
 " the infirmities of a believer, for the specious  
 " virtues of an heathen."<sup>1</sup> Exasperated by the  
 firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused  
 both the king and the archbishop as the secret  
 adherents of the emperor; and shamefully rejoiced  
 in the sentence of condemnation, which, after a  
 partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by  
 Bahram himself. The descendants of Arsaces  
 were degraded from the royal dignity,<sup>2</sup> which  
 they had possessed above five hundred and sixty  
 years;<sup>3</sup> and the dominions of the unfortunate  
 Artasires, under the new and significant appella-  
 tion of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form  
 of a province. This usurpation excited the jea-  
 lousy of the Roman government; but the rising  
 disputes were soon terminated by an amicable,

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<sup>1</sup> Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 23, p. 216. According to the tradition  
 of St. Gregory the apostle of Armenia, the archbishop was always  
 of the royal family; a circumstance which, in some degree, counteracted  
 the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the prince with  
 the crown.

<sup>2</sup> A branch of the royal house of Arsaces still subsisted with the  
 rank and possession of a vassal king of Armenian satraps. See  
 Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 24, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Valerianus was appointed king of Armenia by his father the  
 Parthian monarch, immediately after the death of Artabanus Suren,  
 (Moses Choren. l. ii. c. 7, p. 17), one hundred and thirty years  
 before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory  
 periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured, that the  
 rule of the Arsacide dynasty lasted above three centuries after the  
 birth of Christ. See A. H. 423, B. M. c. 33, p. 313; and under Vespasian, or  
 Titus, king of Parthia, B. M. c. 34, p. 317, who reigned from  
 A. D. 67 to 80. See Aboumenad. Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 295.

CHAP. though unequal, partition of the ancient king-  
 XXXII. dom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition,  
 which Augustus might have despised, reflected  
 some lustre on the declining empire of the young-  
 er Theodosius.



END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



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*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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